

Title and Author	Journal	pdf. p.no.
Some Names in Early Sangita Literature by V.Raghavan	Journal of the Music Academy Madras, 1932. Pt.1 & 2.	2
Some More Names in Early Sangita Literature by V.Raghavan	Journal of the Music Academy Madras, 1932. Pt.1 & 2.	24
Some Names in Early Sangita Literature - contd. by V.Raghavan	Journal of the Music Academy Madras, 1932. Pt.1 & 2.	33
Some Names in Early Sangita Literature - Pt1 by V.Raghavan	Sangeet Natak Bulletin 1956, December, No.5	34
Some Names in Early Sangita Literature - Pt2 by V.Raghavan	Sangeet Natak Bulletin 1957, May, No.6	44
Some Names in Later Sangita Literature - Pt1 by V.Raghavan	Sangeet Natak Bulletin 1960, July, No.17	52
Some Names in Later Sangita Literature - Pt2 by V.Raghavan	Sangeet Natak Bulletin 1961, April, No.18	76
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# SOME NAMES IN EARLY SANGITA LITERATURE.\*

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The proper scope of this paper of mine is early Sangita literature. It does not propose to go into the Vedic period and the *Sāmā-prātisākhya*s nor to treat of the later literature i.e. roughly after the time of Sārṅga-deva, the author of the *Sangita Ratnākara* viz., the beginning of the 13th century. There is a rationale in this classification of mine of the periods of Sangita literature. The early literature is Sangita literature dealing with dance besides music, vocal and instrumental.

गीतं वाद्यं च नृत्तं च त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते ।

So the works of the earlier period treat of dance and drama also. Some are predominantly *Natya* works, by the way, treating of Sangita at length. For instance, the Bharata Sāstra on *Natya*, a work on drama and dance devotes 6 of its 36 chapters to music. Narada's *Sangita Makaranda*, the *Sangita Ratnākara* etc. are works primarily on Sangita and they contain chapters on *Natya* also. As a contrast to this early period, the later is only Gita literature. This classification proceeds on the general rule, taking full cognisance of the presence of exceptions. For instance the *Tala dipika* quoted by Abhinavagupta is a work of the early period but restricts itself to a branch of music. In the later period, when the field was filled with digests or treatises on particular branches of music, we have such *Natya* works as the *Vasanta Rājīya Natya Sastra* of King Kumāragiri, which lost work must have dealt with music also. Jagaddhara's *Sangita Sarvasva* quoted by him in his commentary on King Bhoja's *Sarasvati Kanthabharana*, p. 467, is a

work of the later period but deals with *Natya* besides music, as the quotation given there shows. The *Sangita Ratnākara* of Sārṅga-deva is the boundary line roughly, since it is the last comprehensive work, comprising within its scope all branches of music and in addition, *Natya* also.

A history of the Sanskrit music literature is not in the field. A history of early Sangita literature is attempted here with the evidences supplied mainly by the great commentary of Acarya Abhinavaguptapāda on the *Natya Sastra*, Sārādātanaya's *Bhava-prakasa* etc. Even this does not propose to be a history but only a notice of some names in early Sangita literature. Some such thing is being attempted and published serially in the Journal of the Music Academy. A general survey, with dogmatic assertions and mystifying identifications has already been made by Mr. Rāmakrishna Kavi. This paper does not restate what is contained in Mr. R. Kavi's published paper. It proposes to be more definite and critical and attempts, with citation of authorities, as far as available, to ascertain the definite nature and date of many works and authors. Especially as regards the authors and works known from Abhinavagupta's *Abhinava Bharati*, this paper has much that is not contained in Mr. R. Kavi's paper. The scope of this paper is more restricted and the treatment is more intense on many points.

## BHARATA'S NATYA SASTRA.

The only early work which is completely available to us is the *Bharata Natya Sastra*. Its upper limit is fixed at the 2nd century B.C.

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It treats of music in chapters 28-33. Scholars are exercising all their industry and ingenuity with regard to the real historical fact about a sage Bharata. Mr. Manamohan Ghose, the latest writer on the subject, suggests in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, that Bharata was a common name meaning 'actor' at first, that we had *Nata Sūtras* and *Bharata Sūtras* and that latterly, a mythology of a sage Bharata and origin of *Nāṭya* were created out of the common name Bharata. The present text of Bharata Sastra contains *Anushtubhs*, *Aryas* and long prose paragraphs and occasionally here and there Sūtra-like prose bits. Some of the *Aryas* and *Anushtubhs*, in chapters 6 and 7 on *Rasa*, are introduced as those existing before, with the words अत्रानुवंध्यौ श्लोकौ भवतः । अत्रानुवंध्ये आर्ये भवतः । तत्र श्लोकाः । One of the *Anushtubhs* herein quoted is attributed to Vāsuki in the *Bhāvaprakāsa* by Sāradātanaya (pp. 36 and 37). In the *गेषाधिकार*, chapters 28-33, it is only in the 32nd and 33rd, that we find additional prose and verses introduced thus—'महाभारतम्.' The last chapter on *नाट्यावतार* says that the rest will be dealt with by Kohala. The last portion is called *Nandi Bharata* in the *Kāvya Mālā* edition. Besides, from Rāghava Bhatta's commentary on the *Sākuntala*, we know of an *Adi Bharata*\* and a *Bharata*, verses attributed to these two, some of them being found, some found only as parallels and some not found at all in the *Nāṭya Sāstra*. We hear of a *Bharata Vrddha* from Sāradātanaya, who attributes to him a prose passage on *Rasa*, which is found in the present *Bharata Sāstra* only in its parallel. Further the *Nāṭya Sastra* seems to have been called *सूत्र* and *षट्साहस्री* and there is a tradition recorded in *Bhāvaprakāsa* and other

works that the *Bharata Nāṭya Sastra* is an epitome perhaps of the *द्वादशसाहस्री*. Abhinava himself speaks of 3 *Sāstras*, of *Sadāsiva*, *Brahman* and *Bharata*, the *Nāṭya trinity* found in the story of the origin of *Nāṭya*. Mr. Kavi informs us that there is also a *Nāṭya Veda* of 35,000 slokas and that portions of the *Sadāsiva*, and *Brahma Bharatas* are available now. There is no denying the fact of big works on *Nāṭya* and *Sangita* existing as works of *Sadāsiva* and *Brahman*. The *Dasarūpa* contains verses of *Sadāsiva*, while the *Bhāvaprakāsa* quotes opinions of both *Sadāsiva* and *Brahman*. It is likely that the extant *Nāṭya Sāstra* of Bharata is one that has incorporated into itself many portions of earlier Bharata Sastras.

Similarly it has also incorporated into itself portions of later works. The present text is later than Kohala and even Dattila. These two writers are included in the list of the 100 sons of Bharata whom he taught. The inclusion of Tandu here does not help us much. Kohala is referred to twice in the last chapter. In the second reference he is made to come along with धूर्तिल (दत्तिल?) and some other sages to earth, to live as mortals for sometime for the sake of King Nahusha to write and popularise the Drama on earth. After King Nahusha brought *Nāṭya* from heaven to earth, Brahman says that the *उत्तरतन्त्र* will be written by Kohala. This makes the *Bhāratiya Nāṭya Sāstra* the *पूर्वतन्त्र*. There is no evidence to prove that Kohala's work is called *उत्तरतन्त्र*. His work must have been bigger than Bharata's and as we know from references, he elaborated many a topic, as for instance, the many *Uparūpakas*. That part of Kohala's work,—stray bits here and there—got into the text of Bharata

\* In the annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Dec. '32, there is a note on *Adi Bharata* with reference to the article of Mr. M. Ghose in the *Historical Quarterly*. The manuscript called *Adi Bharata* existing in the Mysore Library, believed by many to be the *Adi Bharata* quoted by Rāghava Bhatta has been examined in that article and found to be only a copy of the available *Bhāratiya Nāṭya Sāstra*.

cannot be disputed. For, in commenting upon the tenth verse in chap. 6—giving the summary of the topics in the *Nāṭyasāstra* as eleven—*Udbhata* is referred to by Abhinavagupta as saying that this verse is from Kohala and is not part of Bharata's text, for Bharata recognises only 5 *Angas* or topics in the *Nāṭyā Sāstra*. Again in the *Dasarupa* chapter we find more treatment than is promised, the *Nāṭikā* being described after *Nāṭaka* and *Prakarana*, though it is not one of the *Dasarupakas*. Kohala is very well known as the first to have introduced, with definitions, *Uparupakas* and the *Nāṭikā* here, is perhaps from Kohala, though there is no conclusive evidence to take it so.

The पञ्चभरत story is very late. We find Mr. R. Kavi speaking much of it. There is nothing to support it in the *Nāṭya Sāstra*, which gives a list of 100 Bharatas, sons of sage Bharata. Of these 100 sons, we are familiar with Kohala, Dattila and Tandula. The list is a hopeless one, containing such names as Sandals and Shoes, पादुकोपानहौ. The origin of the पञ्चभरत theory is not traced. Sārādātānaya, in chap. 3, first considers the name 'Bharata' only as actor. The गुरुपरंपरा here given is *Siva-Nandin-Brahman* and the *Bharatas*, actors and not Bharata, a sage. But at the end Sārādātānaya contradicts himself by saying that Nārada taught Bharata and Bharata wrote the रसोत्पत्ति as he heard it from Nārada. But this kind of रसोत्पत्ति is not recorded in the extant *Nāṭya Sāstra*. Sārādātānaya gives this same paramparā in chap. 10, changing the 'Bharatas' actors, into one sage with 5 pupils.

“स्मृतमात्रे मुनिः कश्चित् शिष्यैः पञ्चभि-  
रन्वितः ।

तानब्रवीत् नाट्यवेदं 'भरत' इति पितामहः ॥

तुष्टेभ्यो वरं प्रादात् अभीष्टं पञ्चविष्टरः ॥

नाट्यवेदमिदं यस्मात् 'भरत' इति मयेरितं ।  
तस्माद् भरतनामानः भविष्यथ जगत्त्रये ।  
नाट्यवेदोऽपि भवतां नाम्ना ख्यातिं गमिष्यति ॥

Bhā. Pra. X.

This passage refers to one sage with 5 pupils, who were the first recipients of the *Nāṭya Veda* and whom Brahman called Bharatas. This same verse is quoted by Mr. R. Kavi to prove the Panca Bharatas. As a matter of fact the first verse above given proves not 5 Bharatas, but 1+5 i.e. 6 Bharatas. Again, all these were called Bharatas because, according to the ingenious derivation Sārādātānaya gives here, viz, भरत, 'you bear or hold or preserve the *Nāṭya Veda*', (imperative of भृ, भर् to bear) Bharatas were so addressed by Brahman. (Vide verses quoted above.) This also proves the theory that the name Bharata as a sage is a later myth and that Bharatas at first meant only actors. But it is rather strange how actors could have been known as Bharatas. Sārādātānaya's explanation is far-fetched. The still later and most popular derivation, explaining Bharata as an epitome of the first letters of भाव, राग and ताल is equally far-fetched.

Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi adduces further evidence from *Tamil* literature, from Adiyārkkū Nallār's commentary on the *Silappadikaram*. This also is wrong evidence. Adiyārkkū Nallār does mention the name 'Panca Bhāratīyam,' but mentions it not as a collection of five works on *Nāṭya* by five different writers, but as one single work by one author, the author of it being Deva Rishi Nārada. When thus the evidences adduced mean something else and the theory of five Bharatas in early *Nāṭya* literature falls to the ground, it is futile to imaginatively suppose and suggest that Kohala is the second Bharata, another, the third and so on, as Mr. R. Kavi does. The exact import of the word 'Panca Bhāratīyam' in Adiyār-



kkunallār means something else. It refers to a custom of dividing the subject of *Nāṭya* into five heads or sections. Another *Tamil* *Nāṭya* work, *Panca Marabu*, referred to by the same Adiyārkunallār, is also one such which treats of *Nāṭya* in five sections. The five sections may be the five *Angas* of *Nāṭya* referred to by Abhinava as Bharata's view,—the five *Angas* being the three Abhinayas and the two kinds of music, vocal and instrumental, pp. 265. Chap. VI, Gaek. Ed.

Another point to be investigated in the history of early *Nāṭya* literature is the part played by king Nahusha in it. The last chapter of the available *Nāṭya Sāstra* gives king Nahusha the credit of bringing from heaven to earth, the beautiful lore of *Nāṭya*. In *Sārada-tanayā's Bhāva-prakāśa*, in the tenth chapter, Manu takes the place of king Nahusha. Manu, as king, feels tired in his duty and Surya his father, asks him to go to Brahman who has got the *Nāṭya Veda* from Siva. Brahman sent six Bharatas along with Manu to Ayodhyā to relieve him now and then with the entertainment of Drama, Dance and Music. The Bharatas then multiplied on earth; they wrote treatises, one in 12,000 slokas, and another, an epitome of the former, in 6,000 slokas. After the names of those who possess and exhibit it, the *Sāstra* itself is called Bharata Sāstra.

Coming to the many names in Sangita literature, mythical and semi-mythical, the likelihood is that, as in the case of *Sadāsiva* and Brahman, the names were only of eponymous authors; but there were definitely works on *Nāṭya* and music current as theirs. This we shall see, as we take up such names, one by one.

### KASYAPA.

This sage is referred to by *Sārṅgadeva* as one of the authorities on music. He is mentioned in *Nārada's Sangita Makaranda* (p. 13). *Matanga's Brhaddesi* refers to him

seven times. The *Abhinava Bhārati* of *Abhinava Gupta* contains two references to this sage, in Vol. IV of the Madras ms. The first reference is a quotation from the *Tikā-Kāra* on the *Nāṭya Sāstra* who quotes in his *Tikā*, one and a half *Anushtubhs* of *Kasyapa*, dealing about the रसप्रयोग of रागs. (i.e.) the particular tunes appropriate to each *Rasa*.

“संयोगे चैव शृङ्गारे प्रोलिकाम — — । (?)  
.....स्तेषु सर्वेषु कुर्यान्मातु(ल) वकेशिक  
(कं) ॥”

भिन्नबहुजोपमामेदैः ह्येकान्ताजीवितस्य वा ।”

Vol. IV. Mad. ms. p. 5.

The second reference to *Kasyapa* given by *Abhinava Gupta* is on the same page, on the same topic.

“तत्र लक्ष्यप्रबन्धगाने प्रायोगिककथ्यपादुद्दिष्टं  
(कथ्यपादुद्दिष्टं) विनियोगजातं कथ्यते ।”

And *Abhinava* gives eight pages of *Anushtubhs* on the particular tunes to be used according to the various *Rasas* and *Bhāvas*. This is either a quotation or a compilation made by *Abhinava* himself from *Kasyapa* and other writers, for he says at the end—

इत्येष कथ्यपादयुक्तः विनियोगो निरूपितः ।

An earlier reference is available in chapter five.

एतदुपजीवनेनोक्तं कथ्यपाचार्येण—“पूर्वरेके तु  
षाडयः” इति ॥

*Kasyapa* or *Kāsyapa* dealt with Drama and *Alankāra* also elaborately since he is so referred to by *Hridayangama*, a commentary on the *Kavyādarsa* of *Dandin*.

### BRHAT KASYAPA.

Besides *Kasyapa*, there is yet another called *Brhat Kasyapa*, an early writer on music. There are two references to him in the work of *King Nānyadeva*, pp. 111-b and 114-a; Manuscript of the *Bhandarkar Oriental Institut*. Thus there are two works on music by

sage Kasyapa, one being *Laghu Kasyapa* and another *Brhat Kasyapa*, the latter being similar to *Brhat Desi*.

### NANDIKESVARA or NANDIN.

The place of Nandin in the mythological origin of the Nāṭya Sāstra is by the side of Siva himself. The latter portion of the *Bharata Nāṭya Sāstra* in the Kāvya Mālā edition is called *Nandi Bharata*. Works attributed to him are many. There is a music work called *Nandi Bharata*, noticed by Rice in Mysore and Coorg Catalogue. The Madras Catalogue has a *नन्दिभरतोक्त संकरहस्ताध्यायः* and another work called *भरतार्थचन्द्रिका* with a *Telugu* Tikā, described as a dialogue between Nandikesvara and Pārvati.

“इति नन्दिकेश्वरविरचित पार्वतीप्रयुक्त भरत चन्द्रिका नानार्थप्रकरणं समाप्तमासीत् ।”

From the manuscript of the *Bharatārṇava* in the Tanjore library we see that this is the 10th chapter in Nandikesvara's *Bharatārṇava*.

The Tanjore library has a work called *ताललक्षणं* attributed to Nandikesvara. Most of the works attributed to him treat more of Nāṭya than Sangita. In Rājasekhara's *Kāvya Mimāṃsā*, in his account of the origin of the Sāhitya Sāstra, Nandikesvara is mentioned as the first writer on Rasa. So it is likely that the name Nandikesvara is not important in music as much as in Dance, Drama and Rasa.

One of his major works was not available to Abhinavagupta. Abhinava, while quoting him, says that he is reproducing Nandikesvara's views, exactly as quoted by Kirtidhārācārya, only on the authority of Kirtidhara and that he himself never saw the work of Nandikesvara.

“यत्तत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) दर्शितं तदन्याभिः (तदस्माभिः) न दृष्टं, तत्प्रत्ययात् लिख्यते ।”

Vol. IV, p. 50.

Then Abhinava gives, as given by Kirtidhara, large prose extracts from Nandikesvara on pp. 51—54, on the प्रयोग of मार्गासारित, dances in the पूर्ववङ्ग. Though one such work of Nandikesvara which was available to Kirtidhara was not available to Abhinava, another work called *नन्दिमत* was available to Abhinava and he quotes it.

“तथा च नन्दिमते उक्तं—

‘रेचिताख्योऽङ्गहारो यो द्विधा तेन ह्यशेषतः ।  
तुष्यन्ति देवतास्तेन ताण्डवे तं नियोजयेत् ॥”

P. 171, Gaek Ed.

The assumption of the identity of Nandikesvara with Tandu made by Mr. R. Kavi is quite wrong. As above proved, the legend of Panca Bharata has no evidence. There is no meaning in idle guesses or assumptions that Nandin or Tandu or Kohala or Kasyapa is one of the five Bharatas. Incidentally we will deal with the name Tandu also. Tandu is mentioned in the Nāṭya Sāstra as one of the 100 sons of Bharata, to whom Bharata taught his Nāṭya. But latterly he is made to belong to the camp of Siva, and through Tandu, who was a witness of Siva's evening dances, Siva passes the Tāṇḍava dances to Sage Bharata. Abhinava quotes Kohala (p. 182. Gaek Ed.) who says that when Siva was dancing, Nārada propitiated him by singing the *त्रिपुरोन्माथ*; Siva danced according to Nārada's song; this Tāṇḍava, as part of Nāṭya, Siva gave to Tandu who passed it to others. In connection with Tāṇḍava there is also mention of one Tāṇḍya. Thus it is very difficult to hazard any such thing as Mr. R. Kavi has done, as regards the name Tandu. Whether Tandu

first existed is a question. It is most likely that Tāndava first existed and to create a beautiful story for its origin, grammar was resorted to and Tandu was, latterly, grammatically extracted out of the word Tāndava, which word itself was long a रुदि among the Natas, even as जर्जर and other संज्ञा. Kohala's *Sangita Meru* as quoted extensively by Kallinātha, in the नर्तनाध्याय, refers to one Bhatta Tandu five times. The affix 'Bhatta' to the name Tandu makes him less mythological and more historical. Whether another historical writer with the name Bhatta Tandu existed is not yet known.

Nandikesvara's very popular work is the *Abhinaya Darpana*. It is available in print, being printed in Telugu characters by Nidamangalam Tiruvenkatacari and subsequently translated into English by A. K. Coomaraswamy and Duggarilal. The compiler of the *Bharata Rasa Prakarana* printed along with it was Sabhapati Ayyar, a Brahmin Bharatācarya of the Tanjore Court, a Bhāgavatar who finally settled at Mannargudi and taught his art to some. This *Abhinaya Darpana* is fitted into the style of a dialogue between Indra and Nandin. Nandin says that there is a big work called भरतार्णव 'ocean of the Bharata art', in 4,000 slokas and that the *Abhinaya Darpana* itself is its summary. We often hear of the early Nāṭya works of 12,000 and 6,000 verses. But this work of 4,000 verses is new. There is a work, called भरतार्णव available in the Madras and Tanjore Manuscript libraries. Three copies of this भरतार्णव with Telugu Tika are available in the Madras Mss. Library. Cat. Vol. XXII. nos. 13006-8. These mss. have in their colophons an epithet 'सुमतिबोध' to the name भरतार्णव. The significance of this epithet is known only from the Tanjore Library Mss. of the *Bharatārṇava*. It is called there as गुह्येशभरत which is a mistake for गुह्यकेशभरत. Sumati

is the king of the semi-divine beings called गुह्यकेश and the work *Bharatārṇava* is in the style of Nandin, teaching the Nāṭya lore to this Guhyakesa called Sumati. From the colophon to chap. 10 of this work in the Tanjore library, we come to know of another work called भरतचन्द्रिका, the Hastābhīnaya section of which is utilised by Nandikesvara. From chapter 13, we also see that there is a work on Nāṭya in the name of sage Yājñavalkya.

“सुमते श्रूयतां सम्यक् याज्ञवल्क्यो महामुनिः ।  
ताण्डवानां गतीनां च भरतार्णवलक्षणे ॥  
नाट्यशब्दक्रमं सम्यक् उक्तवान् क्रमपूर्वकं ।”

Chapter 13, deals with the seven kinds of Lāsyā, which perhaps were dealt with elaborately in a work attributed to sage Yājñavalkya.

#### NARADA.

Abhinava refers to Nārada in Vol. II. p. 100 with regard to the etymology and meaning of the word गान्धर्व.

“प्रतिबर्धनमिति नारदीयनिर्वचनमपि  
सूचितं ।”

Dattila earlier than Matanga, who quotes him, quotes Nārada. Matanga also quotes Narada. We have at least two Nāradas one, the author of the *Siksha* and the other, the author of the *Sangita Makaranda* published in the *Gaekwad* series. Scholars opine that the Nārada referred to as holding the गान्धारग्राम, is the author of the *Sangita Makaranda* which has that ग्राम. This is to show the genuineness of the *Sangita Makaranda* as a work of Narada. The *Sangita Makaranda*, on p. 13, gives the names of a number of writers. The reference to Mātrigupta here definitely puts the date of the *Sangita Makaranda* after the 7th century. Vikrama is another noteworthy, but unidentifiable name quoted here. Two names whom we

miss in this list are Kohala and Dattila. The Tanjore Library has a work attributed to Nārada, called चत्वारिंशच्छतरागनिरूपणं ।

### KOHALA.

It is from Kallinātha that we have the greatest glimpse into Kohala. In the नर्तनाध्याय of the *Sangita Ratnakara*, in his commentary, Kallinātha gives the additional करवर्तनाs from कोहल. From here we learn these facts about Kohala's work—i. Kohala's work is called *Sangita Meru*. ii. It is in dialogue style, like the Bharata Sāstra, a dialogue between Sage Sārdula and Kohala, the latter replying to the former's queries. iii. It is in Anushtubh verses. iv. Its first part treated of Nāṭya and the latter part only of Sangita. The work was thus in the style of the ancient works, in dialogue style and divided into Ahnikas. The extracts from Kohala given by Kallinātha quote these names:

भट्टतण्डु, कीर्तिधर, नारद (author of the *Sikshā*), शंभु (God Śiva), मतङ्ग, सुमन्तु, क्षेमराज, and लोहितमट्टक.

These references are absolutely confusing. The names भट्टतण्डु, सुमन्तु, क्षेमराज and लोहितमट्टक look quite historical. Kirtidhara is later than Nandikesvara's work. But the reference to Matanga is hopeless for Matanga himself quotes Kohala. Matanga's Brhaddesi further quotes Dattila, who himself quotes Kohala. The only possible conclusion is: We know Kohala to be a very early writer whose name is by the side of Bharata. The last chapter of *Bharata Nāṭya Sāstra* contains a promise that the rest will be done by Kohala. Though there is yet little authority to make out Kohala as one of the 5 Bharatas whom Brahman instructed (as Mr. R. Kavi has made out), there is no denying that Kohala was a very early writer. A music work called 'ताललक्षण' is attributed to him in Aufrecht's catalogue. The Madras Catalogue contains

a *Kohaliya Abhinaya Sāstra* with a Telugu commentary. A Dattila-Kohaliya noticed by Dr. Burnell, was once available in the Tanjore Library. Rājasekhara's Drama Bāla Rāmāyana lifts his name out of the historical sphere. These show—i. Kohala was an old and convenient name to which later writers could ascribe their own works. ii. There was a very early work of Kohala. iii. The *Sangita Meru* itself may not be actually this first work of Kohala but may be an elaborated one of some later time foisted on the name of Kohala. But the *Sangita Meru* may be that well known work of Kohala which Abhinava quotes often.

Abhinavagupta refers to Kohala very often both in the नाट्याधिकार and in the गेयाधिकार. The name Kohala is as great in the history of Drama and Dramaturgy as it is in that of Music. The *Sangita Meru* must be a very voluminous and valuable work. In Dramaturgy and Rhetoric, Kohala is always quoted even by later writers as the writer who first introduced the *Upa rupakas*, minor types of Dramas, *Totaka*, *Sattaka* etc. In the Madras Mss. Library there are some fragments described as extracts from Kohala's works. Thus we have कोहलीय अभिनयशास्त्रं and ताललक्षणं, Nos. 12989 and 12992. Cat. Vol. XXII. There is also a work called कोहलरहस्यं, available in this library—Triennial 1910-11 to 1912-13. Only the 13th chapter is available. It is set in dialogue style, Kohala replying to Matanga.

### DATTILA.

Dattila is often Dantila also. He is often coupled with Kohala and the reason is not known. Dattila is a very early writer whom, especially in the गेयाधिकार, Abhinava quotes very frequently, more often than even Kohala. He is referred to as दत्तिलाचार्य and from the references we may infer that Dattila's work was in Anushtubhs like Kohala's and Bharata's.

'Dattilam' published now in the Trivandrum series is only a very late fragmentary selection or condensation of the early original and big work of Dattila, which is not yet available. Dattila's work must have, like other early works, dealt with Dance and Dramaturgy. It must have been big. The Trivandrum text of Dattilam is very poorly small even as regards Music. It has no section on Drama and Dance. There is no denying the fact that Dattila's work treated of नाट्य also.

The Trivandrum Ed. of *Dattilam* quotes Narada, Kohala and Visākhila. Even as regards the original Dattila, it may be only later to Kohala.

There are two copies of a work called रागसागरं in the Madras Mss. Library (Cat. Vol. XXII Nos. 13014 and 13015) in 3 Tarangas, रागविमर्श, श्रुतिस्वररागविमर्श and राग-ध्यानविधानं. The last Taranga gives the Rshi Chandas and Dhyāna of each Rāga. The colophon of this work describes it as a dialogue between Nārada and Dattila.

“इति श्रीरागसागरे नारददत्तिलसंवादे राग-विमर्शको नाम प्रथमस्तरङ्गः ।”

ANJANEYA.

If we can expect a शार्दूल and an अश्वतर as Sangita Acāryas, why not Añjaneya? As a matter of fact, evidences of Añjaneya having had some work on Nāṭya and Music to his credit, are more than those available for many others of his class. Sārṅgadeva and Nārada enumerate him in their lists. On p. 251. Gaek. ed., defining and describing the Rupaka called उत्सृष्टिकांक, Sārādātānaya quotes in his Bhāvaprakāsa, Añjaneya along with व्यास.

अस्यांकमेकं भरतः द्वायंकाविति कोहलः ।

व्यासाञ्जनेयगुरवः प्रादुरंकत्रयं यदा ॥

Chap. VIII.

Again as *Māruti*, he is quoted by Sārādātānaya on p. 114, l. 19 in Chap V. From the first given reference we can make out that Añjaneya's work dealt with Dramaturgy at length. From the other reference in the Bhāvaprakāsa we see that this नित्यब्रह्मचारिन्'s work dealt elaborately with वैशिक also, even as Bharata's. As regards the signs by which another man's wife shows her love to her secret lover, Sārādātānaya quotes मारुति, who says that such signs or indicatory Bhāvas are common to all women.

ये भावा रागचिह्नानि स्त्रीणामुक्ताः पृथक् पृथक् ।  
साधारणास्ते सर्वासां स्त्रीणामित्याह मारुतिः ॥

That Añjaneya's work dealt with music also is plain. Kallinātha quotes him on p. 218, Chap. 2 on Desi Rāgas:—

“तथा चाह आज्ञनेयः—

येषां श्रुतिस्वरग्रामजात्यादिनियमो न हि ।

नानादेशगतिच्छायाः देशीरागास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥”  
Sangita Darpana of Dāmodara, a later work which quotes Sārṅgadeva and Kallinātha, quotes Añjaneya twice. The first reference is a general praise on Nāda.

“अत्र आज्ञनेयः—

नादाब्धेस्तु परं पारं न जानाति सरस्वती ।  
अद्यापि मज्जनमयात् तुलुं वहति वक्षसि ॥”

Again in the enumeration of Rāgas and their consorts—Rāginis—he is quoted as Hanumān. This reference makes Hanumān's work as expounding the northern system which alone has the scheme of Rāga-Rāginis. We also hear of a work on Nāṭya called हनुमन्भरत. Abobala, in his *Sangita Pārijata* refers to and bases his definitions often on Hanumān.

SARDULA.

Sārṅgadeva's and Nārada's lists contain the name of Sārdula. In the latter's list there is also another name व्याल which is only

a synonym of शार्दूल. Similarly there are 2 references under two different synonyms to Vishnu and Indra, in the Sāṅgita Makaranda. Sārṅgadeva couples शार्दूल with कोहल. Neither Abhinavagupta nor Sārṅgadeva nor Kallinātha refers to any opinion of Sārdula. It is thus very likely that Sārdula finds a place among Sangita Acāryas because he is the questioner to whom Kohala's Sangita Meru is addressed as reply. The Brhaddesi however has two references to Sārdula independently.

### DURGASAKTI.

Durgāsakti is referred to as दुर्गशक्ति by Matanga. It is likely he is a historical personage. Besides mentioning him in his list of authorities at the beginning, Sārṅgadeva refers to him along with Kasyapa on p. 182 S.R.

### YASHTIKA.

Sārṅgadeva mentions Yāshtika as an authority on music in his list. Matanga quotes him seven times. Nānyadeva quotes him once. From the latter fact we can take that there was some definite work on music current as Yāshtika's. The fact gains additional support from a reference to him given by Kallinātha on p. 228 in Chapter 2.

### KAMBALA and ASVATARA.

These two are always associates and are two figures in the mythological pantheon of Sangita Acāryas. Sārṅgadeva mentions these two as authorities on music and again quotes them in Chapter I, p. 78 as holding some definite opinion, different from that of Bharata. This reference proves that some music work was extant as theirs, but need not prove that that work was available to Sārṅgadeva, who might have referred to their view from references in the works of earlier writers. We do not hear of these two anywhere else in the works of the early period but have some information about them in Dāmodara's

Sangita Darpana. These two are not "Wool" and "Ass" but "Snakes". They propitiated Sarasvati, got the नादविद्या and became the ear-ornaments, कुण्डल of God Siva, a post from which they could be pouring their music into the ears of God.

“नादविद्यां परं लब्ध्वा सरस्वत्याः प्रसादतः ।  
कंबलाश्वतरौ नागौ शंभोः कुण्डलतां गतौ ॥”

Kambala and Asvatara are mentioned as two Nāgas, serpents, in the list of Nāgas in Chapter 35, Adiparva, M. Bha. 'कंबलाश्वतरौ चापि नागः कालीयकस्तथा ।' Sl. 10. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa gives their story in Chapter 21.

### MATANGA.

Abhinava quotes sage Matanga only twice—pp. 59 and 67 Vol. IV, Mad Ms. Since quotations from his work given by other writers are found here, we may take the Trivandrum Ed. of Matanga's Brhaddesi as genuine though it is incomplete. Matanga quotes :

Kasyapa, Kohala, Dattila, Durgasakti, Nandikesvara, Nārada, Brahman, Bharata, Mahesvara, Yāshtika, Vallabha, Visvāvasu and Sārdula.

Of these names Vallabha must be noted. We do not hear of this Sangitācārya, Vallabha elsewhere.

From a reference in Kallinātha, on p. 82, we see that Matanga quotes Rudrata, who flourished in the first quarter of the 9th century. Hence the Brhaddesi is later than the 9th century.

Dāmodaragupta, in his Kuttanimata makes Matanga a specialist in Flute.

“सुषिरस्वरप्रयोगे प्रतिपादनपण्डितो मतङ्गमुनिः ।  
Sl. 854.

The Brhaddesi must have been famous for the excellence of its सुषिराध्याय and this has resulted in a story of Sangita, that Matanga propitiated Siva by singing on the

Flute. Abhinava mentions this story in the सुषिराध्याय Vol. IV, p. 58.

“पूर्वं भगवन्महेश्वराराधनं मतङ्गमुनिप्रभृतिभिः  
वेणुमितं (?) ततो वंश इति प्रसिद्धः ।”

The Vādyādhyāya of Brhaddesi itself seems to have been held in high esteem. Jāyasimha, (C. 1253 A. D.) in his work on Nāṭya called Nr̥tta Ratnāvali (Tanjore Library) mentions the वाद्याध्याय of Matanga's Brhaddesi.

### VISAKHILA.

Abhinavagupta quotes Visakhilācārya six times in his commentary on the Geyādhi-kāra. His work was earlier to that of Dattila who quotes him.

### VAYU.

Vāyu is given in the lists of Sarṅgadeva and Nārada. We have no other information about him in any other authoritative work. His must certainly be a prominent niche in the temple of the Sangitācāryas for, as wind that sings through the atmosphere and the trees, as the carrier of music, as the प्राणवायु which creates नद and as air playing in the holes of the Flute, certainly Vāyu's part is very great in any myth of the origin of Sangita Sāstra. It is also likely that the name Vāyu refers to the Vāyupurāṇa which says something of music.

### VISVAVASU.

Visvāvasu is merely enumerated by Sārṅgadeva. Matanga attributes to him some opinion in his Brh. Desi, on pp. 4. Singa Bhupāla, in his commentary on the Svarādhyāya of the Sangita Ratnākara quotes a passage from Visvāvasu. It may be that there is a work in his name. Visvāvasu is the name of one of the Gandharvas who are, as a class, musicians and as a Gandharva at least, he enters the list. The name of Tumburu is similar. He is

not only a Gandharva but is often associated with Nārada also and hence has a double title to enter the list.

### RAMBHĀ and ARJUNA.

Rambhā is a mere name now, no work in her name being available. As an Apsaras and exponent of Nāṭya in heaven, she has a sure place in the list. Arjuna's name is also found in the lists. His meeting with Rambhā in heaven and his sojourn at Virāṭas's court as Brhannala, a tutor of dance, have sufficient cause for the possibility of some later writer ascribing a work of his to the name of Arjuna. There is a work called Arjuna Bharata available in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library.

### RAVANA.

Rāvana's name is associated with Sāma gāna and with a particular kind of Veenā. Rājasekhara's drama, Bāla Rāmāyana makes Kohala praise Rāvana as having had the fortune of enjoying God Siva himself perform Nāṭya. So far, we have not landed on any evidence of quotation to show that, in fact, there is a work in the name of Rāvana even as the many Stotras current in his name.

Guṇā is another name in Nārada's list, which is a mere name, no further light upon him being available. So are also these following names found in Nārada's list :—

Two Haris, Visvakarman, Hariscandra, Kamalāsyaka (may be Brahman) Candī (probably only Devi) Angada (who must naturally go with Anjaneya) Shanmukha and Br̥ngi (these 2 because of their being the audience at Siva's dance) Kubera (as he is a friend of Siva according to Purāṇas), sage Kusika, Samudra, Sarasvati (because she is the Goddess of all विद्याs), Bali, Yaksha, and Kinnarasa (because Kinnaras are described in the Kāvya and Purāṇas as singing with instruments).

But two names in Nārada's list must be noted, besides that of मातृगुप्त, viz., समुद्र and विक्रम. This Vikrama is not quoted elsewhere and it is difficult to fix the Sangitācārya Vikrama among the many Vikramas in Indian History. The other, Samudra is certainly not the ocean, but, as regards him, no other evidence is available.

### SVĀTI.

Of Svāti mentioned in Sārṅgadeva's list, some light is available. It is not likely he has any work to his credit but still belongs to the pantheon of Sangitācāryas. Bharata says in Chapter 1, that on the occasion of the first drama in Indra's flag festival, he took Svāti and Nārada with him—Svāti, for भाण्डवाद्य (drum) and Narada, for music.

स्वातिभाण्डनियुक्तस्तु सह शिष्यैस्स्वयंभुवा ।  
नारदाद्याश्च गन्धर्वाः गानयोगे नियोजिताः ॥  
स्वातिनारदसंयुक्तो वेदवेदांगकारणम् ।  
उपस्थितोऽहं लोकेश प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलिः ॥

Abhinavagupta here says in his commentary that Svāti was responsible for the invention of the drum called पुष्कर. Svāti is a constellation associated with rain and is also a Rshi. Abhinava exercises his imagination with the aid of the descriptions in Kāvya and connects the deep rumblings of the clouds with the sounds produced on the Pushkara and thus makes Svāti, to whose charge Bharata gave the drum, भाण्डवाद्य, as the founder of the पुष्कर.

“स्वातिः ऋषिविशेषः येन जलधरसमयनिप-  
तत्सलिलधारावैचित्र्यामिहन्यमानपुष्करदलविल-  
सितरचितविचित्रवर्णानुहरणयोजनया यथास्वं  
वृत्तिनियमेन पुष्करवाद्यनिर्माणं कृतमित्यर्थः ।”

Abhi. Bhārati. p. 23, Gaek. ed.

The story of this invention of पुष्कर and also the other अवनद्ध by Rshi Svāti on a rainy day is told by Bharata himself in the

पुष्कराध्याय, Chapter 33, Kasi ed. Sls. 5-12. Abhinava only summarises in prose the verses there.

### KAMADEVA.

Though the name of Cupid is not found in the lists of the various Nāṭya and Sangitācāryas, we have evidence to show that some work on Nāṭya Sāstra was current in his name. There is a work called ताललक्षण in the Madras Mss. Library (Cat. Vol. XXII No. 12993), which quotes Kāmadeva.

“चरणनृत्यलक्षणं तु कामदेवेन—

उद्धता वाद्यवक्त्रेषु ... .. ।”

This Tāla-lakshana is a late work and it quotes Sārādātana's Bhāvaprakāśa.

### DHENUKA.

Dāmodargupta says in his Kuttanimata :  
कीदृशो नयमार्गे धेनुकरचिते च तालके कीदृक् ।  
प्रेङ्खणकादावेवं पृच्छति नृत्योपदेशकं यत्नात् ॥  
Sl. 82.

From this verse we come to know that there is one Dhenuka who has specially written on Tāla. Who this Dhenuka is and what his work is, are not known. Nor is he mentioned elsewhere.

### DAKSHA PRAJAPATI.

Simha Bhupāla, in his commentary on the Svarādhyāya of the Sangita Ratnakara quotes Dakṣha Prajāpati, who is no mere name, but in whose name must have been current an important work.

“स्वेच्छया पञ्चावस्थापनमङ्गीकृत्यैव दन्तिल-  
क्षप्रजापत्यादयः अवधानं गान्धर्वागत्वेन अङ्गी-  
चक्रुः । ....

दक्षप्रजापतिरपि—

‘अवधानानि गान्धर्वं पञ्चात्स्वरपदादयः ।  
अवधानातिरेकेण त्रिविधं नोपपद्यते ॥’

इत्याह ।”



## UTPALA DEVA.

We now come to writers and works regarding whose verity there is little doubt. From Abhinavagupta's *Abhinava Bhārati*, we learn that Abhinava's own Paramaguru i.e. preceptor's preceptor, in Saivism, *Srimad Utpaladeva* wrote also on Sangita. Otherwise there is no indication of his having written on music. But we can surely rely on the *प्रशिष्य*'s evidence and take *Utpaladeva* as an early writer on *Sangita*. Abhinava quotes him four times in his *Abhinava Bhārati*. The first quotation is in the *जात्यध्याय*, Chap. 29.

“अन्ये त्वाहुः स्वरा इत्यलंकारैकदेशाः प्रयोज्यायां तु (?) ज्ञाताः ।

श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादास्तथा मन्यन्ते ।”

Vol. IV. p. 21. Mad.Ms. of Abhinava Bhārati.

The second reference is in the same chapter on the next page of this Vol—

“परमगुरुश्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादानां मते वर्णानां पदनिबन्धत्वे तदाश्रितालंकारगीतविप्रयोगयोः

.... .. ॥”

The third reference is in Chap. 31, page 84 of Vol. IV. Here also Abhinava differs from his grand-teacher.

The fourth reference to *Utpaladeva* is on p. 188, Vol. IV.

“यथोक्तं श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादैः—

स्थितस्थायित्वसंपन्नात् प्रस्तुतस्थमयोजनं ।

ध्रुवासु यद्यदन्येभ्यः तद्वत्प्रज्ञापकल्पयेत् ॥ (?)”

From this last quotation we may infer that Utpala's music work was written in *Anustubhs*. Utpaladeva's date is easily fixed. His *प्रशिष्य*, *आचार्य अमिनवगुप्तपाद* flourished at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries.

## ACARYA ABHINAVA GUPTA.

We must separately deal with the commentators on the *Nāṭya Sāstra*. The only com-

mentator whose work has been recovered is Abhinavagupta. Even his *Abhinava Bhārati* is available in the Madras Ms. only up to a part of the *तालाध्याय* and there is some lacuna in the seventh chapter. The 8th is also missing. The *Abhinava Bhārati*, now being slowly and very badly edited by Mr. R. Kavi, in the Gaekwad series, is a store house of information, giving us material to construct a history of early Sangita literature. Abhinava's life was a full and very rich one. His place in the history of Kashmir Saivism is as great as that of Sri Sankara in Advaita literature. His importance in *Alankāra*, i.e., poetics, is also as great. He studied the *Nāṭya Sāstra* under 'the good brahmin' Tota, Bhatta Tota or Touta, the author of *Kāvya Kautuka*, an *Alankāra* work upon which also Abhinavagupta has commented. Tota was scholar in *Nāṭya* and Music and Abhinava often refers to his interpretations of the text of the *Nāṭya Sāstra*, in the *गेयाधिकार* also as *Upādhyāya's mata*. Besides Touta, one *Nrsimhagupta alias Mukhala* (Cukhala) was the preceptor in music to Abhinavagupta. He mentions this music teacher in two verses at the end of chapters 20 and 27.

नृसिंहगुप्तायतिनेत्यमत्र वृत्तिस्वरूपं प्रकटं

व्यधायि ।

यत् तत् त्रिनेत्रेण हृदन्तरात्मस्वरूपमेव प्रकटं

व्यधायि ॥

नृसिंहगुप्तापरनामधेयः विद्यावदातो मुखलाभि-

धानः ।

यं गेह (य) विद्याभिरयूयुजत्सः प्रयोगसिद्धिं कृत-  
वान्महार्थम् ॥

Since Abhinava refers to Bhatta Touta in his *Abhinava Bhārati* invariably as *Upādhyāya* only, one or two references to one *Ācārya* available in the *गेयाधिकार* may be taken to represent reference to the interpretations of this music teacher *Nrsimhagupta*. Who is this *Nrsimhagupta*? He is Abhinava's own

father. This we know from an anonymous commentary on Abhinava's Saiva work called ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी (R. No. 4353 p. 6399 Mad. Cat. Triennial, 1922-23 to 1924-25).-Vide my article in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VI, part 2, on the writers quoted in the *Abhinava Bhārati*.

#### \* KIRTIDHARA.

The other commentators on the *Nāṭya Sāstra* as given by Sārṅgadeva are *Lollata*, *Udbhata*, *Sankuka* and *Kirtidhara*. Though mentioned last in Sārṅgadeva's list, if it is a fact that his work was a regular commentary on the *Bharata Nāṭya Sāstra*, *Kirtidhara* was the first known commentator. Abhinava quotes him four times. The first reference is in Chap. 4, in the discussion on the difference between नृत्त and नाट्य, p. 208 Gaek. ed. The other 3 references to *Kirtidharācārya* are in the गेयाधिकार, the music section of the *Nāṭya Sāstra*. The first of these occurs in the जात्यध्याय Vol. IV, p. 42. The next is found on p. 50, in the same Vol. The last reference to him is on the group-dances to be performed in the *Purva Ranga*. Abhinava says here that he is going to give additional information from *Nandikesvara*, on the authority of *Kirtidhara*, who quotes *Nandikesvara*.

“यत् यत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) दर्शितं तदस्या (स्मा) भिः न दृष्टं, तत्प्रत्ययाचु लिख्यते ।”

Then Abhinava gives on pp. 51-54 large prose extracts from *Nandikesvara* as given by *Kirtidhara*.

The *Sangita Meru of Kohala*, in the extracts given by *Kallinatha* therefrom, quotes *Kirtidhara* p. 677. So *Kirtidhara* is earlier than the *Sangita Meru*.

#### UDBHATA, LOLLATA and SANKUKA.

It is now accepted by all scholars that the great *Alankārika*, *Udbhata* wrote a regular

commentary on the *Nāṭya Sāstra*. Abhinava refers to his interpretations and views four times at distant intervals in his *Abhinava Bhārati*. Firstly he refers to the followers of *Udbhata* in Chap. 6, on the *Nāṭya Angas* (p. 265 Gaek. Ed.). Then in Chap. 9, Vol. II, p. 307 Mad. Ms, Abhinava quotes *Bhatta Udbhata* on पताक. The third reference is on p. 472. Vol. II. The fourth reference to *Udbhata* is on p. 479 Vol. II, in the Chapter on दशरूप. This reference shows that *Udbhata* recognised only 3 *Vrttis*, and even those 3, of a different nature from *Kaisiki* etc. There is another reference which does not mention him but presupposes him and his view of the *Vrttis* Vol. III, p. 4.

Here in the first reference, as well as in the fourth, Abhinava first gives *Udbhata's* opinion and then *Lollata's* refutation of *Udbhata's* view. One of the two references to *Udbhata* in *Rajasekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* also is of the same nature. Thus *Udbhata* was the earlier commentator and *Lollata* and *Sankuka* came afterwards. *Udbhata* was the Court poet of King Jayapida of Kashmir, 778-813 A.D.

As regards *Bhatta*, *Lollata* and *Sankuka*, there is no doubt of the fact of their having written commentaries on the *Nāṭya Sāstra* for, references to their interpretations of particular texts in *Bharata* are profuse all over the *Abhinava Bhārati*. *Lollata* flourished, about 825 A.D. and *Sankuka* a little later, about 850 A.D.

#### SRI HARSHA'S VARTTIKA.

Besides these direct commentaries, the *Nāṭya Sāstra* had two other commentaries, one *Vārttika* and one *Tikā*. Abhinavagupta quotes often *Sri Harsha* and his *Vārttika* in the first 6 chapters. Altogether there are 8 quotations from *Sri Harsha's Vārttika*. The quotations are mostly in *Aryā* verses and occasionally in prose also. Thus the *Vārttika*

was mainly in *Āryās* and occasionally in prose. *Sārādūtanaya* in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* also refers to *Harsha* and his definition of the *Upa Rupaka* called *Totaka* (p. 238-l. 5.). This *Sri Harsha* is not the Royal dramatist and patron of poet *Bāna*, since in a reference in the *गेयाधिकार* to the music verse of King *Sri Harsha*, found in two of his dramas, *Abhinava* does not refer to him as the *Vārttikakara*. It is strange how *Abhinava* who quotes *Harsha* so often in the first 6 chapters never quotes him in the later chapters on Dance and Drama proper and Music. Perhaps *Sri Harsha's Varttika* was available even to *Abhinavagupta* only in a fragment at the beginning.

### THE TIKAKARA.

The name of the author of the *Tika* on the *Nāṭya Sāstra* is not available. Beginning in the 22nd chapter, the references to him in the *Abhinava Bhārati* (mostly in the *गेयाधिकार*) number 17. Earlier also there are two references to him in Chap. VI. *Abhinavagupta* quotes him only to refute him. It appears that the *Tikā kārā* on the *Nāṭya Sāstra* blundered hopelessly in the *गेयाधिकार*. All the 17 references to him are cases, in which *Abhinava* completely ridicules him. From one of the references we see that the *Tikā Kārā* quotes *Kasyapa* Vol. IV, p. 2. The *Tikā Kārā* finds some discrepancy between *Bharata* and *Kasyapa* which *Abhinava* removes. In one reference to the *Tikā Kārā*, we find him quoting *Sadāsivā* and there is mention of one *श्रीपाद* as the Guru of the *Tikā Kārā*. p. 25, Vol. IV.

Besides these commentators on *Bharata's* work which dealt with Dance and Music, there are some more names also whom we may take as writers on *Nāṭya* and Music from *Abhinavagupta's* references.

### BHATTA SUMANAS.

This writer is quoted in the 32nd Chapter, in the *तालध्याय*, Vol. IV. p. 32. Since the reference occurs in the *गेयाधिकार*, *Bhatta Sumanas* must be the author of some music work. The reference given by *Abhinavagupta* is to his interpretation of a verse in *Bharata*. Perhaps he commented on *Bharata*, or only on the *गेयाधिकार* in *Bharata* or had occasion to quote and interpret a verse from *Bharata* in an independent work of his.

### BHATTA VRDDHI.

This author also wrote some work on music. He is referred to in the *तालध्याय*, p. 203, Vol. IV.

Besides, one *Bhatta* is quoted along with the above, dealt with *Utpaladeva* in the *तालध्याय* Vol. IV, p. 188. Another writer on music, one *Datta* is also quoted in the same Chapter on p. 203 along with *Bhatta Vrddhi*.

### GHANTAKA.

Poet *Ghantaka* is quoted by *Abhinavagupta*, but only on a topic in *Dramaturgy*. If however poet *Ghantaka* also was a commentator on *Bharata*, it follows that he was a writer on Music also.

### SAKALI GARBHA.

From *Abhinava Bhārati* Vol. II, p. 480, we come to know of a new writer on *Nāṭya* named *Sakaligarbha*. He has a curious view of 5 *Vrttis* in dramas. His work on *Nāṭya* might have dealt with music also—undoubtedly so, if he is a commentator on *Bharata*.

### RAHULA.

*Rāhula* is an early writer on Music. *Sārṅgadeva* mentions him among his authorities, as *Rāhala*.

स्वार्तिगुणो बिन्दुराजः क्षेत्रराजश्च राहलः ।

*Abhinava* quotes him thrice, first on the difference between *Nāṭya* and *Nrṭta* in Chap. 4,

p. 172 Gaek. ed., then on p. 197 of the same edition and then in the 23rd Chap. on वैशिक, p. 38, Vol. III, Mad. Ms. The third reference is reproduced in Abhinava's faithful follower Hemacandra's *Alankāra* work, *Kāvyañusāsana*.

“शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु—मौढ्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलंकारानाचक्षते ।

तेऽस्मामिर्भरतमतानुसारिभिः उपेक्षिताः ।”

Hemacandra K. A. N. S. ed. p. 316.

“तेन मौढ्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनामपि गत्याचार्यराहुलादिभिरभिधानं विरुद्धमित्यलं

ब्रह्मना ।” Abhi. Bhā.

The context is सामान्याभिनय and the Alankāras of women भाव, हाव etc. Abhinava criticises Rāhula for holding मौढ्य मद etc., also to be Alankāras. In the reference given above, Abhinava, in the text in Madras Ms., refers to Rāhula as गत्याचार्य. It is likely that it is a scribal error for शाक्याचार्य, since we find it so in Hemacandra, who is always very useful in deciding the text of Abhinava's works. It is also likely that Rāhula was specially very proficient in गति in Nāṭya and thus might have acquired the name गत्याचार्य. He was a Buddhist. We had among Buddhists many such writers on such secular subjects. One Padma Sri is known to us as a Buddhist monk who has written the pornography work, called Nāgara Sarvasva, from which we learn, in addition to what we know from the second reference to Rāhula, that the Buddhistic Sampradāya on topics of Alankāra etc., had their own deviations and peculiarities. Thus Rāhula either commented on the Nāṭya Sāstra or wrote a big treatise itself like the Nāṭya Sāstra on Dance, Drama and Music.

## BHATTA YANTRA.

There is only one reference to Bhatta Yantra in the Abhinava Bhārati and that too only on Dance. It is in chapter 4, p. 208, Gaek. Ed, on the difference between Nāṭya and Nr̥tta. If he is a commentator on Bharata, to decide which sufficient evidence is not available, we have in him a writer on music also.

## RUDRATA.

Sārṅgadeva mentions Rudrata as a Saṅgita Acārya.

रुद्रटो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।

Confirmation of his having written a work on music comes from a reference to him by Abhinavagupta. Abhinava criticises Rudrata as having written without understanding Bharata.

“रुद्रका(टा)दिभिस्तु एतमर्थं बु (अबु) ध्यमानैः उक्तानां श्लोकपाठविप्रलब्धैः सर्वत्रैव अपृकलस्य

उक्तः ।” p. 160, Vol. IV.

This Rudrata is the great Alankārika, author of the Kāvyaalankāra whom some scholars identify with Rudra or Rudra Bhatta, author of another Alankara work called Srṅgārtilaka. Rudrata is placed between the first half of the 9th century and its end. He is thus a contemporary of king Avanti Varman of Kashmir and the great Alankārika Anandavardhana. Rudrata is quoted by Kallinatha, once independently and again, as being quoted by Matanga.

“यथा यावत् षड्जमेव तारगतिः मध्यमस्याप्यत्र संवादित्वात् अनाशित्वात् तारगती रुद्रदेन कृता मध्यमस्येति मतंगोक्तम् ।”

S. R. p. 82.

Mr. R. Kavi, as usual, without evidence or authority postulates the identity of this Rudrata with Medhavi Rudra, another writer

on *Alankāra*, which is wrong, and again both of them with Rudrācarya, protégé of King Mahendra Vikramapallava and author connected with the *Kudumiyamalai* music inscription. This triple equation is absolutely baseless.

### BHATTA GOPALA.

Abhinava refers to this writer on music twice. He first quotes him and his *तालदीपिका* in Chap. 12 on p. 332. Vol. II, along with Bhatta Lollata. He promises here to come to the topic of *ध्रुवाताल* in the *तालाध्याय* and accordingly, in the *तालाध्याय*, he again quotes Bhatta Gopala, who he says, has refuted at length in his *Tāla Dipika* the *ध्रुवातालविधि* of his predecessors.

“अत एवैतदनुसारेण भट्टलोल्लटगोपालादि भङ्ग सर्वभङ्ग स चे (?) तालदीपिकादौ चिरन्तनसंमतो ध्रुवातालानां विनियोगः प्रयत्नतो दूषितः । तच्च ध्रुवाध्याये विचारयिष्यामः इत्यास्ताम्” ।

Vol. II. p. 382.

“यथाहि भट्टगोपालः स्वाभिप्रायेण ध्रुवकेविधिरिति ।”

Vol. II. p. 181.

### MATRAGUPTA.

Matragupta is referred to by many writers and his *Anustubh* verses on subjects of *Nāṭya* are found quoted in *Ranganātha Dikṣita's* commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya*, and *Raghava Bhatta's* commentary on the *Sākuntala* etc. His work should have been in *Anustubhs*, modelled after the *Bharata Nāṭya Sastra* treating of music also. For the reference in *Abhinava Bharati* to Bhatta Matrāgupta is in the *तताध्याय*, P. 32. Vol. IV.

तथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

“गुप्तं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ।”

Sarṅgadeva mentions him as a *Sāṅgitācarya*.

आञ्जनेयो मातृगुप्तो रावणो नन्दिकेश्वरः ।

The reference in *Narada's Sangita Mahranda* p. 13, to one Matragupta is evidently only to Matragupta.

Matragupta lived in King Sri Harsa's time, 607-647 A.D. He was a great poet and was latterly made King of Kasmir.

### PRIYATITHI.

This is a very new name in *Nāṭya* literature, which we are given by the *Abhinava Bharati*. It quotes this writer on *Nāṭya* on the subject of 'Saindhava', one of the ten *Lasyāṅgas*.

“प्रियातिथिप्रभृतिः (तिभिः) मुनिमतोपेक्षयैव लक्षण (णं) उदाहरणं च कृतं न चोक्तं युक्त्या तेन किञ्चित्, इत्यसेदव ।”

P. 537. Vol. II.

Priyatithi wrote against Bharata's view and Abhinava criticises him for this.

### SURYA.

On p. 95. Vol. III, we find in the *Abhinava Bharati*—

“चातुर्विध्यं सूर्योक्तमेव स्मारयति, 'तद (तं) तन्त्रीगतं' (Bharata 28. 2) इत्यादि ।”

There is no improbability of Surya being one in the pantheon of *Sāṅgitācaryas*. The subject of the above reference is the fourfold instrumental music.

### ASTA AGAMAS.

(Eight basic texts.)

The story of 'Five Bharatas' has been proved to have no evidence for it. But in the history of early *Nāṭya* literature, there seems to have been a collection of eight *Nāṭya* works, basic and authoritative, going by the name अष्ट आगमाः. Abhinava refers to these अष्टागमाः on p. 227. Vol. IV.

“अन्ये तु श्रियमपरत्वं (?) व्याचक्षते । तच्च अष्टागमपक्षविरुद्धमित्युपेक्ष्यसेव ।”

What separate works constituted this 'Authoritative Eight' is not known.

### KING BHOJA.

About the time of Abhinavagupta ruled at Dhara, the Paramara King, patron and prolific writer, Bhoja A.D. 1010—1055. Bhoja's literary period was a little later than that of Abhinava. Sarngadeva enumerates Bhoja in his list and Saradatanaya quotes him often in music also along with Somesvara. We can believe that King Bhoja, master of all arts and sciences wrote on *Sangita* also but we cannot believe Mr. R. Kavi's calm news that Bhoja's *Sangita* work was called **सङ्गीत-प्रकाश**, which name is only a fancy, built on the analogy of the name of Bhoja's great *Alankara* work called *Sringara Prakasa*. Parsvadeva says that Bhoja gave the technical terms of music in the Bhandika vernacular in his work on music S. S. II. 1.

### SOMESVARA.

**परमर्दी च सोमेशः जगदेकमहोपतिः ।**

This reference in *Sarngadeva* gives Somesara, Paramardi and lord of all worlds as a *Sangitācārya*. Saradatanaya in his *Bhavaṇṇaprakāśa* refers to Somesvara along with Bhoja two times. Saradatanaya says that he is not elaborating music since it has been already dealt with by Somesvara and others. The *Sangita Samaya Sara* of Parsvadeva, quotes him with Dattila, as having dealt with *Tala* and with Bhoja, as having given the technical terms of music in the *Bhandika Bhasa*. This *Bhandika Bhasa* is vernacular and very highly musical and a grammar of it is available in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library. In that grammar, a beautiful story of the origin of that vernacular is given. It is said that when Krishna danced the *Rasa*, along with the Gopis, from all parts of India, and when each sang in her own tongue, there arose, in

that beautiful medley of tongues, the very musical language of the Bhandika.

Who is this Somesvara who is cited as an authority on music? The Editor of the *Bhavaṇṇaprakāśa* in the Gækwad series, Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Sastrigal discusses this question. In *Sangita* we know of two Somesvaras. One is the Calukya King Somesvara III, who composed an encyclopædic work called *Manasollāsa* or the *Abhilāsitartha Cintamani*, in the year 1131 A.D. This big work, part of which has been published from Mysore and Baroda, is said to contain a very big section on Music. This portion, when published, will light up our field very much. It is very likely that it is this Somesvara whom Sarngadeva and others mention.

Another Somesvara is known as the author of a music work called *Sangita Ratnavali*. Some identify Sarngadeva's Somesvara with this Somesvara.

### BHATTA SOMA CARANA.

But all are agreed that Somesvara is a King and Ksatriya. If so, we had another writer on Music called Soma or Bhatta Soma Carana, a Brahmin. The learned Ranganatha Diksita, in his commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya*, Act IV., quotes him after quoting Matanga, on the **जम्भक** or the **जम्भलिका गीति**, P. 89. Nirnaya Sagar Edition.

### KING PARAMARDI.

This word is taken by some as an attribute of the above-dealt with King Somesvara, **परमर्दी च सोमेशो जगदेकमहोपतिः**! Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri takes Paramardi as a separate name, as a different writer on Music, identifiable with a King of that name of the Candel Dynasty, a scholar and patron, who reigned between 1165—1203 A.D. This view of K. S. R. Sastry is justifiable. Parsvadeva in his *Sangita Samaya Sara* (on p. 24, Tri.

Edn.) quotes one King Paramardi, in the प्रबन्धाध्याय i.e. Chapter 4.

“स्वयं यत्र प्रबन्धे स्यात् अनेनैव प्रपूरणं ।

आभोगः कथितस्तेन परमर्दिमहीभुजा ॥” Sl. 6.

Nothing more is known of King Paramardi or his work on Music.

### NANYA BHUPALA.

Through the kindness of my professor, I got the manuscript of the work of Nanyadeva from the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. The work is incomplete and is generally called in the colophons as *Bharata Bhasya*. But two of the colophons style it as *Bharata Varttika*. The work quotes Narada's Siksa and the author of the विवरणटीका on the नारदीय-शिक्षा, Siksas of Panini and Apisali, Bharata, Matanga and his Brhaddesi, Tumburu, Kasyapa and Brhat Kasyapa, Visakhila, Yastika, Dattila and Abhinavagupta. Two names among the writers quoted must be noted. They are *Sages* आस्तीक and छत्रक, of whom we do not hear elsewhere. References to these two are on p. 64a. The *Kalika Purana* is referred to by Nanyadeva on page 132a, as containing the treatment of the *gita* called गोविन्दकं.

The Colophon has sometimes this suggestive word—‘वाचिकांशे’. From this we come to know that Nanyadeva's work is very big and divided into four sections according to the four Abhinayas—वाचिक, आंगिक, सात्विक and आहार्य. The first section—Ansa, called वाचिक, deals with *Sangita*. The portion dealing with Music alone, is available in the manuscript above referred to and even this runs to 221 sheets.

Nanyadeva, as one mentioned by Sarngadeva is earlier to Sarngadeva. Nanyadeva was king of Mithila. He calls himself by the

name मिथिलेश्वर and महासामन्ताधिपति. He has another name also—Rajanarayana.

“एवं द्वाविंशति (मि) ताः श्रुतयः परिकीर्तिताः । राजनारायणेनेह श्रीमन्नान्यनभूभुजा ॥” P. 12a.

His work called *Bharata Bhasya* and *Bharata Varttika* has another name—*Sarasvati Hrdaya Bhusana* or *Sarasvati Hridayalānkāra* or *S. H. Alankara Hara*, as described in the different colophons.

Of *Bindu Raja* and *Ksetra Raja*, two authorities enumerated by Sarngadeva we have no further knowledge. Both look like historical personages. Kohala, as quoted by Kallinatha, quotes one क्षेमराज on the करवर्तन called स्वस्तिकत्रिकोण on p. 688. If Ksetra Raja is the same as this Ksemaraja we may take him as a writer earlier to the *Sangita Meru*.

*Lohita Bhattaka* and *Sumantu* are two more writers quoted by the *Sangita Meru*. They are certainly historical from what we see by their names, but further light on these two are not yet available. We know of Sumantu who was a sage, who is given by the Maha Bharata and Asvalayana as one of the 5 भारताचार्यः, not भरताचार्यः. He was one of those who edited the Maha Bharata after Vyasa. He is mentioned thus—

सुमन्तुं जैमिनिं पैलं शुक्रं चैव स्वमात्मजं ।

वेदानध्यापयामास महाभारतपद्ममान् ॥

संहितास्तैः पृथक्त्वेव भारतस्य प्रकीर्तिताः ।

### SARADATANAYA.

Now let us come to the 3rd source of information, the *Bhavaaprakasa* of Saradatanaya, a work on Dramaturgy, ascribed to the period 1175—1250 A.D.

Saradatanaya, if the above given date is correct, was living in Sarngadeva's time. Saradatanaya was, as his name shobornws, of the grace of Sarasvati. In the 7th chap.

of his *Bhavaṣṭra* he takes up Sangita and after elaborately telling us of the physiological process of नादोत्पत्ति, just touches Music and leaves it saying that he need not deal with it further, since Bhoja, Somesvara and others have treated of it. From this same reference in Chap. 7, we learn that Saradatanaya produced a companion work, certainly earlier, on Music called *Saradiya*.

“मयापि शारदीयाख्ये प्रबन्धे सुष्ठु दर्शितं ।”

P. 194.

Further, Saradatanaya refers to many other works and authors on Natya and Music. The following are noteworthy since they are not referred to elsewhere: द्रौहिणिः, गान्धर्वनिर्णयः and वासुकि.

### GANDHARVA NIRNAYA.

The गान्धर्वनिर्णय is a work on music, treating of Natya also by the way. Saradatanaya refers to it on p. 266 in chapter 9, in the description of the minor Rupaka variety known as उल्लोप्यक, which is a गीतप्रबन्ध, an operatic composition.

‘यस्मिन्नुल्लोप्यकं नाम त्र्यंगं गीतं प्रवर्तते ।

तल्लक्षणं च गान्धर्वनिर्णये स्पष्टमीरितं ॥’

The author of the *Gandharva Nirnaya* is not known.

### DRAUHINI.

The quotation in the *Bhavaṣṭra* in the name of Drauhini, on page 239, l. 1, is on *Vrittis* and *Nataka*.

‘सात्त्वतीवृत्तिरत्र स्यात् इति द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ।’

From this reference we can take him to be an author on Drama only. But Rajasekhara in his *Kavyamimamsa* quotes him twice and from the first quotation there, we can surely make out Drauhini as an author

on some music work. This reference makes Drauhini praise Music as the 5th Veda.

“वेदोपवेदात्मा सार्ववर्णिकः पञ्चमो गेयवेदः  
इति द्रौहिणिः ।” K. M. P. 2 Gaek. Ed.

Thus Drauhini's work, like works of the early period, comprehensively dealt with Sangita proper, with its 3 departments. It is also likely that Drauhini is only Druhina's son, i.e. Narada.

### VASUKI.

Vasuki is a mythological name. Vasuki is quoted twice by Saradatanaya. He is earlier to the Bharata Natya Sastra, if we rely upon a verse attributed to him by Saradatanaya, which is found quoted by Bharata. Vasuki is not enumerated by Sarngadeva or Narada nor is he quoted elsewhere. Narada's list however contains a name व्याल, which, if it is taken in the meaning 'snake', may refer to Vasuki, but this is quite far-fetched.

### KALPAVALLI and YOGAMALA.

The *Kalpavalli* or *Kalpalata* and the *Yoga Mala Samhita* quoted by Sarngadeva are definitely works on Natya but probably these two devoted some of their chapters to the *Samana tantra* (allied science) music also. The *Yogamala Samhita* seems to be a conversation in which Siva teaches *Nāṭya* etc., to Viśvasvan i.e. Surya. Surya seems to have some part in the history of *Nāṭya* and *Sāṅgita*. In the first chapter in the गेयाधिकार i.e. the 28th, on p. 95 of Vol. III Mad. Ms. the Abhinava Bharati of Abhinavagupta refers to Surya in connection with the four kinds of आतोद्य, instruments.

“चातुर्विध्यं सूर्योक्तमेव स्मारयति, ‘तद’ (तं) तन्त्रीगतम्’ इत्यादि ।”

### VYASA and AGASTYA.

Saradatanaya mentions at the beginning of his work that he studied and learnt the



schools of the following writers on Natya—Sādasiva, Siva, Parvati, Gouri, Vasuki, Sarasvati, Narada, Kumbhodbhava i.e. Agastya, Vyasa, Bharata's pupils and Anjaneya. Of these we have already dealt with Narada, Vasuki and Anjaneya. How Sādasiva and Siva and Parvati and Gouri are separate and different we are not able to understand. Vyāsa is quoted now and then by Saradatanaya. There are two possibilities. Some of the *Purāṇas* of which Vyāsa is the general author contain chapters on music. Opinions quoted as Vyāsa's may refer to opinions contained there. But such references are not traceable to the *Sangita* texts in the *puranas*. The story of the origin of *Nāṭya* which Saradatanaya attributes to Vyasa, the exact number of acts in उत्सृष्टिकांक, according to Vyasa referred to by Saradatanaya, are not traceable to the known *puranas* which deal with drama and music. The other possibility is that there was some work on *Nāṭya* current as Vyasa's. Anyway Vyasa is not a mere name, since Saradatanaya attributes to him two definite opinions on pp. 55 and 251. The name of Agastya does not seem to appear anywhere else. As a matter of fact, in literature, Agastya is a rare name in *Sanskrit*. It is only in *Tamil* that he is the eponymous father of all literature. Sārādātānaya, as the editor of his work suggests, was thus likely a South Indian. But in the body of the *Bhava Prakasa* itself, no quotation from Agastya is found.

### PARSVADEVA.

The *Sangita Samaya Sara* of Parsvadeva published in the Trivandrum Skr. series is a work of the early period. Mainly a work on music, it treats of dance in chapter six. Parsvadeva, as his name indicates, was a Jain. He and his father were great scholars of the *Nāṭya Sastrā*. The upper limit of his date is easily fixed. He quotes these authors—

1. King Bhoja. 2. King Somesvara. 3. King Paramardi. 4. King Pratapa. 5. Digambara. 6. Matanga. 7. Sage Bharata and 8. Dattila.

Of these, the references to Kings Bhoja, Somesvara and Paramardi are valuable and they fix the upper limit to Parsvadeva's time. King Bhoja ruled between 1010 and 1055 A.D. Paramardi flourished about 1165 A.D. and Somesvara about 1131 A.D. Parsvadeva is thus later than the 12th century. Sarngadeva does not refer to Pārsvadeva. Singa Bhupāla (about 1330 A.D.) quotes him often in his commentary on the *Sangita Ratnākara*. Thus his date falls between 1165 and 1330 A.D.

The manuscript of the *Sangita Samaya Sara* in the Madras Mss. library (No. 13028) gives much information about the author Pārsvadeva. Pārsvadeva was the son of Gouri and Adideva and disciple of one महादेवार्थ, who was himself the pupil of उभयचन्द्र. The *paramaguru* was thus a Jain and born of Brahmin parents, Pārsvadeva was a convert to Jainism. Pārsvadeva mentions in the beginning that he consulted the following authorities: सोमेश्वर, तुंबुरु, भोज, मतङ्ग, काश्यप, दत्तिल, कोहल and हनुमान्. Pārsvadeva gives the name of his family as श्रीकण्ठान्वय. The colophons mention the names of his *guru* and *paramaguru* and the titles of Pārsvadeva.

In the first verse in chapter 1, Pārsvadeva says that he is going to follow Bhoja and Somesvara in giving the technical names of music in the *Bhandika Bhasa*.

भाण्डिकभाषयोद्दिष्टाः भोजसोमेश्वरादिभिः ।  
नेयलक्षणतः केचित् वक्ष्यन्ते लक्ष्यसंभवाः ॥

S. S. S. II. 1.

We know of certain new writers for the first time from Pārsvadeva.

## KING PRATAPA.

King Pratapa is quoted on p. 29.

पञ्चतालेश्वरो यद्वा ह्यं गद्यमथापि वा ।  
आलिक्रमोऽयमेवोक्तः प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ॥

Though Pratapa and Vikrama are synonymous, it is vain to identify this Pratapa with the Vikrama quoted in the *Sangita Makaranda*.

## DIGAMBARA.

Parsvadeva refers to Digambara or Digambara Suri thrice in the chapter on dance. The third reference is reverentially in plural. Evidently Digambara Suri is a Jain and most probably a teacher of Pārsvadeva. The three references are these—

1. On the 3 kinds of सन्दंश, a नृत्तहस्त—

सन्दंशः त्रिप्रकारः स्यात् पार्श्वजो मुखजोऽ-  
ग्रजः ।

इत्यनेकप्रयोगेषु दिगम्बरमतोदितः ॥ P. 60.

2. केशवबन्धकरो प्रौक्तौ तौ दिगम्बरसूरिणा ।

उत्तानावञ्चितौ किञ्चित् पार्श्वगौ त्रिप्रताकरौ ॥

P. 63. Sl. 89.

3. हंसपक्षकरो दण्डपक्षावुक्तौ दिगम्बरैः ।

P. 63. Sl. 93.

Thus not only in Philosophy and Poetics, but in such subjects as Drama, Dance, Music and Pornography, the Buddhists' and Jains' contributions to *Sanskrit* literature are immense.

## SANKARA.

Pārsvadeva quotes Sankara in the वाद्याध्याय i.e. the fifth, p. 42.

सकलं निष्कलं चेति वाद्यमेतत् द्विधा भवेत् ।

कथितं शकरेणैव एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥

It may be that this Sankara is a historical writer on music, or only God Siva.

## The PURANAS and MUSIC.

As remarked above, references to Vyasa may refer to chapters on music in some of the Puranas. The Puranas that contain chapters on music are—the *Visnudharmottaram*, the *Vayu* and the *Markandeya*.

Of these the *Markandeya* does not regularly treat of music. In chapter 21, it gives the story of Asvatara the King of the serpents. He did penance and requested Sarasvati to give him his brother Kambala and to impart to him and his brother the music lore. Sarasvati did so. Asvatara and Kambala propitiated Siva with this music. Here incidentally, in mentioning Sarasvati's boon, the topics in music learnt by the two Naga brothers are summarily given.

सप्तस्वराः ग्रामरागाः सप्त पन्नगसप्तम ।

गीतकानि च सप्तैव तावत्यश्चापि मूर्च्छनाः ॥

तानाश्चकौनपञ्चाशत् तथा ग्रामत्रयं च यत् ।

एतत्सर्वं भवान् वेत्ता कम्बलश्चैव तेऽनघ ॥

\* \* \* \*

चतुर्विधं परं तालं त्रिप्रकारं लयत्रयं ।

गीतत्रयं तथा कालं मया दत्तं चतुर्विधं ॥

\* \* \* \*

अस्यान्तर्गतमायत्तं स्वरव्यञ्जनयोश्च यत् ।

तदशेषं मया दत्तं भवतः कम्बलस्य च ॥

Sls. 52-56.

## The VAYUPURANA.

In the second Khanda of the *Vayupurana*, chapt. 24, latter half and chapter 25 deal with music. The former speaks of seven *Svaras*, 3 *Gramas* and the *Rāgas* belonging to each *Grāma*—20 in मध्यमग्राम, 14 in षड्जग्राम, and 15 in गान्धारग्राम, the etymology, devatā and description of each *Rāga*, and मूर्च्छना. The 25th chapter is devoted to 30 *gita Alankāras*.

## The VISNUDHARMOTTARAM.

The 3rd Khanda of the *Visnudharmottaram* contains a big art supplement treating of Grammar, Lexicography, Prosody, Poetics, Dramaturgy, Dance, Sangita and Painting. Chapters 18 and 19 here deal with music. In the beginning the matter corresponds to that in the *Vayupurana*, though in the *Visnudharmottaram* it is all in *Sutra*-like prose. The following are dealt with—

*Svaras*, *Gramas* and the *Rāgas* of each of the 3 *Gramas*, 3 *Vrttis*, वादि, सवादि and

अनुवादि, 9 *Rasas* and the *Staras* for each *Rasa*, the 3 *Laya*s and the *Laya* for each *Rasa*, 10 *Jatis*, 4 *Alankaras*, प्रसन्नादि, प्रसन्नान्त, प्रसन्नाद्यन्त, and प्रसन्नमध्य, and the several kinds of songs viz, अपरान्तक, उल्लोप्य, मन्द्रक, मकरी, उवेणक, सरोविन्दु, ऋग्गाथा, पाणिका, दक्ष-विहता and ब्रह्मगीतिका.

Here this chapter called गीतलक्षण ends. The next chapter dealing with music is devoted to आतोद्य, instruments.

## CARE OF VIOLIN AND BOW DURING THE SUMMER.\*

BY

EDITH L. WINN.

Pupils of school age often let their violins go without special care in summer. A violin when not in use should be encased in an oiled silk bag or a silk scarf. The strings should always be wiped off after playing, and before playing, talcum powder should be used, if the hands perspire.

The A string is most likely to break in summer. The strings should be tuned gently, and should sometimes be eased by being lowered before they are tuned up. This also loosens the pegs if they fit too tightly in their holes. Once loosened, the pegs may be turned up until the strings are at the desired pitch and then pushed firmly in their holes.

If it sticks a tight peg may be tapped with a small hammer, on its protruding end.

Watch the bridge constantly in summer. If it leans forward, gently press the top back with the thumb and fingers. Do not move the bridge from its base.

The bow must always be slackened after playing. Use good resin. If the hair grows slippery the bow should be rehaired. Do not tighten the bow too much. A bent stick makes trouble.

On damp days the violin should be shut tightly in the case. When the sun shines the case may remain open. The average instrument needs to be played on often to be kept in good condition.—From "The Etude."

## SOME MORE NAMES IN EARLY SANGITA LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

BY

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In the paper on *Early Sangita Literature* read by me in the Madras Music Conference 1931,<sup>2</sup> I had noticed the writers from Bharata up to Sarngadeva. While preparing a paper on *Later Sangita Literature*, which I read before the Music Conference in December 1932, I came across some new information bearing upon my previous paper and some new writers and works belonging to early literature. These I propose to give here as a supplement to my paper on "*Some Names in early Sangita Literature*."<sup>3</sup>

*Firstly*—I had said in the previous article that Sanskrit Sangita Literature can be divided into three periods, ancient, early and later. The ancient period covers works of the Vedic period like the *Pratishakhyas* and *Sikshas*. The early period, I had said, covered, up to the time of Sarngadeva, the literature beginning with Bharata and treating not only of music, vocal or instrumental but also of dance and drama. I had said that the last work dealing comprehensively with all the three branches of Sangita, viz., *Gita*, *Vadya* and *Nritta* is Sarngadeva's *Sangita Ratnakara* and that compared to the early literature, the later, after the time of Sarngadeva, is only *Gita* literature, dance and drama being left out slowly. This distinction between early and later Sanskrit Sangita literature has now got to be modified somewhat. While studying the works after Sarngadeva's time, though I came across many works restricting themselves only to *Gita* or even to a smaller range viz. to *Raga* only, I found that there were innumerable

works, still aware of the fact that *Sangita* meant *Gita*, *Vadya*, and *Nritta* and works that treated not only of *Vadya* but devoted one chapter or more to *Nartana* also. Therefore the distinction between early and later *Sangita* literature has thus to be modified. During the time of *Bharata*, *Kohala* and other old writers, music was an accessory to drama. Gradually both vocal and instrumental music expressed their individuality and as we see now, they became independent of drama. So early literature of music is a chapter of *Natya Sastra*. *Bharata*, *Kohala*, *Nandikesvara* and others are writers on *Natya*, whose works treated of *Drama*, *Dance* and *Rasa* and also contained chapters on music. Latterly *Natya* became a chapter in the works on music, as we see in almost all the music works, at least after the time of Sarngadeva whose work was the model for later compilations. Therefore it must now be stated that the boundary line between the early and later sangita literature is not to be found in Sarngadeva's time but some time very much earlier. The *Sangita Ratnakara* is not the last work of the early period as said in a previous article. Sarngadeva will however be temporarily taken by me as giving an artificial boundary for conveniently dividing the big subject of Sanskrit Sangita literature.

**Anjaneya, Yashtika, Dakshaprajapati, Matanga and Sardula.**

The first three writers have been noticed by me in the previous paper. They are separately credited with music works. But

1. Part of a paper read before the Madras Music Conference, 1932.

2. Published in the Journal of the Music Academy Madras: Vol. III. Nos. 1 and 2.

we find a legend recorded in Govinda Dikshitar's *Sangita Sudha* as regards these three writers which is as follows :

कदाचिदागात् कदलीवनान्तमासे दिवान्याष्टिक-  
माञ्जनेयः ।  
सङ्गीतविद्योपनिषद्ग्रहस्य अध्यापयन्तं धुरि दक्ष-  
मुख्यान् ॥  
देशीयरानेष्वपि च स्वरेषु श्रुतिष्वमूषामपि  
लक्षणेषु ।  
नानाविरोधानिह याष्टिकान्तं (कं तं) ते दक्ष-  
मुख्यास्त्विति पर्यपृच्छन् ॥

एवं विरोधे परिशङ्क्यमाने ततस्त्वचादीत्परिहार-  
मेवम् ॥  
शास्त्रस्य लक्ष्यस्य मिथो विरोधो न स्याद्यथा  
स्यादपि रक्तिलभः ।  
स पर्यहार्योदिति तान्निरोधान् स याष्टिको राम-  
पदाब्जसेवी ॥  
तां याष्टिकोक्तामपि रोधरीति यक्षौघगीतामपि  
गानशैलीम् ।  
आलोच्य बुध्या चिरमाञ्जनेयो लक्ष्याविरुद्धं  
प्रणिनाय शास्त्रम् ॥

इत्याञ्जनेयेन विचार्य सम्यक् शास्त्रे निरुक्ताः  
किंल देशिरागाः ।  
Adayar Ms.

Daksha and others were studying the music-lore from Yashtika, a devotee of Sri Rama, in a plantain-garden, when Anjaneya approached the latter for enlightenment on Desi Ragas especially, and for knowing methods to bridge the gulf between theory and practice. Yashtika taught Hanuman. According to it and in accordance with the practice in the form of the music sung by the Yakshas viz. the Yaksha Gana, the latter wrote his work. From the above story we learn these facts. In the big music work known as Anjaneya's, Yashtika is followed on Srutis, Svaras etc. and especially on the subject of Desi Ragas. Anjaneya's work, like

that of Yashtika, is important for its contributions to the topic of Desi Ragas. It is suggested in the introduction to the Trivandrum Edition of the *Brihaddesi* of Matanga, that that work is also important for its treatment of Desi Ragas and that the work itself is so called because of its treatment of Desi Ragas. And Matanga takes credit for having given as Ragas something not found in Bharata and others.

रागमार्गस्य यद्रूपं यन्नोक्तं भरतादिभिः ।  
निरूप्यते तदस्माभिः लक्ष्यलक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ P.81.

That Yashtika's work is important on the subject of Ragas is seen from Matanga's work itself. Yashtika is earlier than Matanga, who quotes him. On the subject of Bhashas in Ragas, a whole section of Bhashalakshana is quoted by Matanga from Yashtika's work. This chapter has the colophon :

‘सर्वागमसंहितायां याष्टिकप्रमुख्य (प्रोक्त)  
भाषा(ध्या?) लक्षणाध्यायः चतुर्थः ।’

Thus chapter four of Yashtika's work which seems to be called *Sarvagama Samhita* treats of Bhashas and it is reproduced by Matanga. From this extract we see that the work attributed to Yashtika clubs him together with Kasyapa, whose questions on the various subjects in music, Yashtika answers. Just as here we see Yashtika appearing in Anjaneya's work and also with Daksha, besides being associated with Kasyapa in a separate work, we find Matanga, figuring in *Brihaddesi* appearing again with Dattila in another work called Raga Sagaram, described in my previous article.

Immediately after reproducing Yashtika on the Bhashas, Matanga reproduces 16 Bhashas from the work of Sardula.

In a conversation with me, Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi told me that the Trivandrum edition of the *Brihaddesi* is not wholly, by Matanga and that the latter part of it is the Yashtika Samhita.

This is not a fact. Matanga's *Brihaddesi* is a big work. It is now made available to us in the Trivandrum edition, which unfortunately contains only up to the 6th chapter dealing with Prabandhas. Matanga, as has been observed in my previous article, is famous for the Vadyadhyaya of his work and more especially for the section on flute etc., *Susira*. The last line of the 6th chapter promises that the Vadyadhyaya shall begin next. In the portion available, Matanga has quoted a chapter from Yashtika's work on Bhashas, as also from Sardulu's work on the 16 Bhashas. These quotations do not mean that the Trivandrum edition of the *Brihaddesi* is a medley of the works of Matanga, Yashtika and Sardula.

### Nandikesvara.

In the previous article I had observed that the name of Nandikesvara was important more as regards drama, dance and rasa than as regards music, since most of the works seen in his name are pure Natya works. But now we see from Matanga that one text credited to Nandikesvara treats of music. Matanga quotes him thus :

नन्दिकेश्वरेणाप्युक्तं—

द्वादशस्वरलेपना ज्ञातव्या मूर्च्छना बुधैः ।  
जातिभाषादिलिङ्गार्थं तारमन्द्रादिलिङ्गैः ॥

P. 32.

### Kauhaliya.

We have noticed the important name of Kohala and the works attributed to that name. We find that there is another writer called Kauhaliya who is probably the son of Kohala. Kauhaliya is given as one of the 18 sages who wrote Sikshas, by Ayya Sastrin in his work called the Sapta Svara Sindhu. (Vide Journal of the Music Academy, Madras Vol. II. No. 3. p. 148. Mr. P. S. Sundaram Ayyar's University Music Lectures).

### Tumburu's work.

Though evidences are available as regards the existence of a work on music in the name of Tumburu, we had not till now any reference giving us the name of his work. We now come upon a valuable reference in Lochanakavi's Raga Tarangini, which gives us that Tumburu's work is called Tumburu Nataka. Lochanakavi quotes the Tumburu Nataka on the times appropriate to each Raga "रागाणां गानकालाः तुम्बुरुनाटके ।" Tumburu Nataka means Tumburu Bharata and from the name we can see that it is an early work treating of music as an *anga* of Drama and Dance. Two verses on the different kinds of Dhvani from Tumburu are quoted by Kallinatha on p. 35.

### Bharata-Vistara and Uttara.

In connection with the name of Bharata and his Natya Sastra we noticed a Bharata, an Adi Bharata, whom Raghava Bhatta and many others quote and a third called Bharata Vriddha, whom Saradatanaya quotes. From a manuscript work called Sahitya Sara by one Suresvara in the Madras Government Manuscripts Library, we hear of a fourth work connected with the name of sage Bharata called Bharata Vistara, as will be seen from the quotation to be given below.

Speaking of Kohala, we said that his name appears even in Bharata's Natya Sastra (last chapter). In the concluding chapter of the Bharata Natya Sastra, we find that Kohala is one of the sages who came from heaven to earth, for the sake of spreading the art of Bharata according to the wish of King Nahusha. Bharata himself says that what he himself has not dealt with, Kohala will do in the *Uttara Tantra*.

युष्माकं चैव संक्षेपात् नहुषस्य महात्मनः ।  
आप्तोपदेशलिङ्गिश्च नात्रो प्रोक्ता स्वयंभुवा ॥  
शेषमुत्तरतन्त्रेण कोहलः कथयिष्यति ।  
प्रयोगान् कारिकाश्चैव निहक्तानि तथैव च ॥

N. S. XXXVI. Sl., 64 and 65.

From this we come to know that Kohala's work is called Uttara Tantra, which means, that Bharata's work is also called Purva Tantra. But now we come across the following verse in the above-said Sahitya-Sara of Suresvara, which says, that there are two separate works called Kohala and Uttara. Giving the sources of his own work, Suresvara says :

आहतं भरतात् किञ्चित् उत्तरात् किञ्चिदुद्धतम् ।  
कलितं कांहलात् किञ्चित् किञ्चित् भरतविस्त-

रात् ॥

S. S. Mad. Mss. Triennial Catalogue.  
1916-19. R. 2432.

Thus Uttara is a separate work, different from the work of Kohala.

### Narada Samhita.

We have noticed a Siksha of Narada and many other works credited to him like Saṅgita Makaranda. From quotations in a Ms. work called Sangita Narayana by King Narayana (available in the Madras Govt. Manuscripts Library), we now come to know of a work called Narada Samhita. Firstly, King Narayana quotes Narada Samhita on the definition of Gita.

“वस्तुतस्तु नारदसंहितायां—  
धातुमात्रसमायुक्तं गीतमित्यभिधीयते ।”

Pp. 6. Mad. Ms.

There are further citations from this work in the same Sangita Narayana on pp. 22, 23 and 96. From this work being quoted on Tandava and Lasya in the Nartanadhyaya, we see that Narada Samhita dealt with Nāṭya also.

### Panchama Sara Samhita.

The above-mentioned Sangita Narayana gives us another music work called Panchama Sara Samhita which it quotes often. On pp. 19 of the Ms. a list of Ragas is quoted from this Samhita. On pp. 51, Narayana

quotes this Samhita on the time appropriate for each Raga. As against the view of this Samhita on this subject, Kohala is quoted, with whose views, says King Narayana, the practice of the Southerners agrees. There is a third extract from the Panchama Sara Samhita on pp. 63. Kavi Ratna Narayana, son of the teacher of the above-said King Narayana, quotes this Panchama Sara Samhita as also Narada Samhita in his music work called Sangita Sarani (pp. 44 and 45 of S. S. Mad. Ms). Another work, Kavichintamani by Gopinatha Kavi Bhushana, which deals with music in the 24th chapter also quotes these two Samhitas.

### Deva Raja.

Deva Raja is a new writer whom we know from Nanya Deva's Bharata Bhashya. It is not known whether Devaraja is only Indra, the King of the Devas, or he is a historical writer. Nanyadeva first quotes him on Graha Svāra.

“देवराजो (ऽऽ) याह—‘गीतादितो ग्रहस्स्यात्’  
इति ।”

Pp. 158 Mad. Ms.

He is quoted again thrice by Nanyadeva but the Ms. gives his name in these places variously as दिदराज, ददराज, and देदराज.

Pp. 159. दिद (देव) राजो या (ऽऽया) ह—पञ्च-  
विधांशो भूयात् संवाद्यनुवादिनौ च बलिनौ etc.

Pp. 159. दद (देव) राजो (ऽऽ) याह—एवं च  
स्वरप्रस्तारः सन् जीविष्यति नन्दयन्त्यामिति ।

Pp. 302. यदाह देद (व) राजः, ‘जातपञ्चकपा-  
लानि सप्तैव नारदेन उदितानि etc.

### Gandharva Raja's Raga Ratnakara.

If the King of Devas has a music work in his name, the King of Gandharvas also has one in his name. It is but proper that Gandharva Raja should have to his credit a work on Gandharva Veda. A work on Ragas called Raga Ratnakara attributed to Gandharva-

raja is available in the Tanjore Library. It is described by Dr. Burnell on pp. 60 of his Tanjore catalogue. Dr. Burnell says that the work is described in the Central Provinces catalogue also (pp. 96-97).

### Visvakarman.

While commenting on the chapter on 'Make up' etc., (आहार्याभिनय) in Bharata, Abhinavagupta refers to a text of Visvakarman on the making of such stage-articles as Mahendradhvaja etc., (pp. 20 Vol. III, Abhinava Bharati, Mad. Ms.). It is not unlikely that there is a work attributed to this divine architect and manufacturer, which deals with the making of musical instruments.

King Narayana, in the Vadyadhyaya (II) of his Sangita Narayana, quotes two Anushtubh verses of Visvakarman on the manufacture of Mridanga (pp. 4 of the S. N. Mad. Ms.).

### Sarasvata Grantha and Brahapati's work.

The Goddess of Arts and learning must certainly have to her credit a work on Natya-Sangita. We come across a reference to her work called Sarasvata Grantha, from which and from Nandikesvara's Bharatarnava, one later South Indian writer, named Mudumbai Narasimbachariar, compiled a big Natya treatise called Bharata Sarvartha Sangraha. (Mad. Mss. library Trien. Cat. 1916-19 R. 2435). This work says:

चतुर्विधं त्वभिनयं नन्दिकेश्वरसंमतम् ।  
पञ्चधाभिनयं सारस्वतग्रन्थेऽभिधीयते ॥

This same Bharata Sarvartha Sangraha mentions Brihaspati, the preceptor of the Devas, also, as having written a Natya work. One of its colophons runs thus :

“श्रीवत्सान्वयसञ्ज्ञात मुहुम्बन्कण्ठीरवाचार्य  
विशदीकृत भरतशास्त्रेनन्दिकेश्वरीय—नारदीय—

वृहस्पतीय—आदिभरतादि ग्रन्थसंपुटित—सार-  
स्वतभरत—सारसंग्रहाख्ये ग्रन्थे चित्राभिनय-  
प्रकरणम् ।”

Somanarya, another late writer on Natya, cites in his Natya Chudamani, Brihaspati as an authority.

### Vena.

Vena seems to be an old writer belonging to the class of Sages like Bharata. Kallinatha quotes him as holding the view that the Srutis are nine in number.

“अस्मिन् तु वेणादयो मुनयः नवविधां श्रुतिं मन्य-  
न्ते न तथाहि—

‘द्विश्रुतिः त्रिश्रुतिश्चैव चतुःश्रुतिक एव च ।  
स्वरप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः वंशच्छिद्रगतौ बुधैः ॥’”

Pp. 35.

The name of Vena's work etc. is not known. Tulaja reproduces this quotation from Kallinatha wholesale in his Sangita Saramrtam and there we find the mistaken form Venya.

I am inclined to take the word ‘वेणादयो’ of Kallinatha as ‘वेण्णादौ.’ The text is corrupt. If we take it, as I suggest, we have no writer referred to here, but only the view of some sage that, as regards playing on the Flute (Venu), the Srutis are nine.

### Some other mythical names.

The Nātyachūdāmani of Somanārya (Mad. Library Ms. Trien Cat. 1910-13 R. 366e) mentions as authorities on Nātya and Sangita, Mādhava (i.e.) Vishnu, and the two sons of Siva, Ganesa and Shanmukha, than whom there is none having greater right to enter the pantheon of Sangitāchāryas.

There is a work on Nātya called Bālarāma Bharata by a King of Travancore called Bālarāma Kulasekhara Varma of the Vanchi Royal line. This work is in the Mad. Mss. Library (Trien Cat. 1916-19 R. 2268). This king can be identified with one of this name



mentioned by R. Sewell in his Archeological survey of South India, as having ruled between 1798 and 1810 A.D. This Bāla Rāma Varma quotes in his work :

1. A work on Tāla called *Sabda Ratnāvali*.
2. „ called *Tāndava*.

and three mythical writers *Vāchaspati* (same as the above noticed Brihaspati) *Bhrigu* (mentioned nowhere else) and *Agastya*. The last writer *Agastya* is mentioned elsewhere only by *Sārādātanaya*.

### Aumapatam Gita Sastram.

A music work of the above name, of which the author is given as Umapati, is available in the Madras Mss Library. Trien. Cat. 1916—19. R. 2498. The work is small and is given an ancient air having been cast as a dialogue between *Siva* and *Pārvati* on the subject of Music and *Nāṭya*. The work contains 38 small chapters, the contents of which are as follows :

1. नाददेहोत्पत्तिः. 2. ग्रामप्रस्तारलक्षणं. 3. जीवजातिप्रस्तारः. 4. जातिप्रस्तारः. 5. स्वरनामप्रस्तारः. 6. स्वराधिकारः. 7. श्रुतिप्रस्तारः. 8. मूर्च्छनाक्रमः. 9. मूर्च्छनागेयप्रकरणं. 10. मूर्च्छनामण्डल लक्षणं. 11. शुद्धरागलक्षणं. 12. रागप्रस्तारः.

Here ends section I treating of *Sruti*, *Svara*, *Jati* and *Rāga*.

13. रूपकलक्षणं. 14. मटिलक्षणं. 15. कूर्म-रूपादिध्रुवालक्षणं. 16. देवलोकध्रुवालक्षणं. 17. मनुष्यलोकध्रुवालक्षणं. 18. त्रिपदालक्षणं.

(This chapter describes various kinds of *Gitas* known as *Tripadā*).

19. सप्तविध—अङ्गतालीलक्षणं. 20. सुडादि-गीतलक्षणं.

Here ends section II treating of some compositions like *ध्रुवा*.

21. वाद्यं.—The work classifies instrumental music into three kinds: *सजीव*, *मिश्र* and *निर्जीव*. *Sajiva* (living) is instrumental music

accompanied by the vocal music of the same artist. *Misra* or mixed instrumental music is the playing on flutes, where the throat of artist plays a part, even though there is no vocal music. *Nirjiva* or lifeless music is pure playing on *Veena* etc., without vocal music. मिश्रस्यात् वेणुवज्रातः निर्जीवो वैणिको भवेत् । So high a place to vocal music or the music of *Gatra Veena* is accorded by this work.

### Chapters 21. वेणुलक्षणं. 22. वीणालक्षणं.

The *Avanaddha Vadyas* are separately dealt with after treating of *Tala*. The fourth section treats of *Talas* as follows :—

- Chapters 23. ताल and गीतप्रबन्धताल. 24. चञ्चत्पुटादिशब्दताल—एकीत्तरशतप्रस्तारलक्षणं. 25. मेरुप्रस्तारलक्षणं. 26. षोडशकोष्ठमेरुप्रस्तारः. 27. मार्गप्रसादशुद्धप्रसादलक्षणं. 28. चक्रादि-पञ्चतालप्रस्तारः. 29. ताललक्षणं.

Section V deals with drums.

Chapter 30. speaks of three kinds of *Maddala*, *Suddha Maddala*, *Salaka* and *Sankirna Maddalas*.

Chapter 31. औजवाद्यं—This seems to be another kind of drum.

Section VI treats of *Nrttya*.

32. अष्टविध नृत्यं. 33. शिरोभेदलक्षणं. 34. अंगाभिनयः. 35. हस्ताभिनयः. 36. कुण्डली-शब्दप्रबन्धः.

37. Description of the seating etc., of the King and the other members of the audience to witness dance, description of the stage etc.

Chapter 38. constitutes section VII and is devoted to *Prabandhas*. Many rare works occur here, indicating that the work belongs to the early period.

Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi tells me that the above described Ms. of this work in the Madras Ori. Mss. Library is incomplete and that there are copies of the complete work elsewhere.

The three kinds of Rāgas and other Rāgas coming within these three kinds are reproduced from this Aumāpatam *in extenso* by Kallinātha in his Kalānidhi on S. R. pp. 228-243. This Aumāpata is quoted in the Rāga Vibodha by Somanātha and by Damodara in his Sangita Darpanam.

It is not known whether Umāpati, after whom the work is named either as Umāpati Bharata, Umāpati Gita Sāstra or Umāpati Tānta, is a historical writer or only God Siva who delivers the whole work as instruction to Devi. Somanātha takes Umāpati to mean Siva. But a reference to Umāpati in the Sangita Sudhā makes him a somewhat late writer. The Sangita Sudhā also says that Umāpati's Tantra follows the views of Nandikesvara.

उमापतेराधुनिकस्य तन्त्रमुद्दिश्य नन्दीशमतानु-  
सारी ।

Pp. 442, chap. II, S. S. Adayar, Ms. Vol. I.

The Sangita Sudhā calls Umāpati an Adhunikā i.e. a late writer. But it does not mean that Umāpati was anywhere near the time of Govinda Dikshita or King Raghunatha Nayaka. For Sangita Sudhā calls even Sarṅgadeva as an Adhunikā and Sangita Sudhā, by calling these two writers Adhunikā, contrasts them with the still more old mythical persons like Siva, Arjuna, Nandin, Bharata etc. Though we are not able to fix the lower limit to the date of Umāpati's work, we can say that it is not a very late work. The upper limit of its date can be known satisfactorily. The Aumāpatam while explaining the relation between Sruti and Svara in Chapter I, compares their mutual relation to that between the Vibhavas, Anubhavas, etc., and the Rasa, the former being the Vyanjaka, the suggesting elements and, the latter the suggested.

स्वरश्रुतिविवेकं तु को जानाति मया विना ।

देवि दुर्धन एवायं पदार्थसयोरिव ॥

Pp. 3 Mad. Ms.

Here पदार्थ is वाच्यवाचक, the Vibhavas etc., which suggest the Rasa which is called Vakyārtha. This forestalls Ananda Vardhana, the great Alankarika of the 9th century and his ideas of Dhvani and Rasa. Therefore the Aumāpatam is definitely later than the 9th century. It may even be later than Abhinavagupta or even Mammata.

### Mammata's Sangita Ratna Mala.

Mammata is a well-known Kashmirian writer on Alankara, who wrote the standard Kavyāprakasa. He flourished between 1050 and 1150 A. D. Scholars were aware up till now only that he was a writer on Alankara. From numerous quotations in King Narayana's Sangita Narayana and Kavi Narayana's Sangita Sarani, we come to know now, that this Mammata has written a work in music also called Sangita Ratna Mala. The following are some quotations from Mammata's Sangita Ratna Mala found in Sangita Narayana (Mad. Ms.).

1. Pp. 20. मम्मटाचार्यकृत सङ्गीतरत्नमाला-  
यां—कञ्जाटनाटमल्लार etc.

This extract gives a list of 6 Mela Ragas and other Ragas.

2. टकलक्षणमाह मम्मटः 'नाटकगो-  
टयोर्योगो टकरागो ननुलकः ।'

3. On pp. 27 this work is quoted as opining that there are three varieties of the Varadi Raga called Suddha Varadi, Dravida Varadi, and Desa Varadi.

4. On pp. 28 we find that, as against the Sangita Sara which gives Gurjari as having two varieties, दक्षिणगुर्जरी and सौराष्ट्रगुर्जरी; the S. R. Mala has given ten varieties of Gurjari Raga. "रत्नमालायां तु 'दशधा गुर्जरी प्रोक्ता' इत्याद्युक्तं । तत्प्रपञ्चमयात्र लिखितम् ।"

5. On pp. 33, 34 and 36, it is quoted on the personified Murtis of the Ragas घण्टारव, नटनारायण, शङ्कराभरण and देशी.

6. On pp. 53, there is a quotation from it on the proper time for singing certain Ragas.

“रत्नमालायां—

वसन्तो रामकेरी च गुर्जरी सुरसापि च ।  
सर्वस्मिन्गीयते काले नैव दोषोऽभिजायते ॥”

7. On pp. 73, a verse is quoted from it showing the gods dwelling in each of the sounds in the word Tala.

“रत्नमालायां—

तकारो रङ्गजन्मा स्यात् अकारो विष्णुरुच्यते ।  
लकारो मातुः प्रोक्तः ताले देवा वसन्त्यमी ॥”

8. On pp. 21 it is mentioned as an authority along with other works.

संगीतसार—हरिनायक—रत्नमाला—  
गीतप्रकाश—मुखदशितवर्त्मनैव ।

Sangita Sarani gives a quotation from the Sangita Ratnamala of Mammata, which says, that there is no end to the number of Ragas or Talas, Vadyas, or compositions.

न रागाणां न तालानां न वाद्यानां विशेषतः ।  
नापि प्रबन्धगीतानां अन्तो जगति वर्तते ॥

The Sangita Ratnavali of Somesvara.

1174-1177 A. D.

In the previous paper we noticed the Chalukyan King Somesvara of Kalyani, whose contribution to Music is a big section on that art in his Thesaurus called Abhilashitarthachintamani or Manasollasa. There is another Somesvara, who has written a music work called Sangita Ratnavali. Sarngadeva's reference to a Somesvara may be to either of these two.

The catalogue of Mss from Gujarat, Karachi, Sind and Khandesh describes on pp. 244 a Ms. of this name, as the work of one Somarajadeva who seems to be the same as Somesvara. A Ms. of Sangita Ratnavali in the Baroda library is also said to give the author as Somarajadeva. This Somarajadeva or Somesvara is identified “as a Pratihari of

the Chalukya king Ajayapala of Gujarat (A. D. 1174-1177).” (Vide Introduction to Bhava Prakasa, Gaekwad Edn.)

Svararnava and Svara Raga  
Sudha Rasa.

Contending against Veena Vidvan L. Subramanya Sastriar\* that Sri Tyagayya never followed Venkatamakhi's Chaturdandi-prakasika, Mr. Srinivasa Raghavachariar says that Tyagayya refers in his Kirtana “Svara Raga Sudha Rasa” to three works “Svararnava,” “Ragarnava” and “Sudharnava.” Tradition perhaps speaks only of one work “Svararnava” as Mr. Sastriar has pointed out in his reply. That work Svararnava is said to be the work of Narada, who himself gave it to Tyagayya in the guise of a Sanyasin.

In the literary supplement of the Hindu of a further date, Mr. P. S. Sundaram Ayyar of Tanjore informs us that the section on Ragas of a work called “Svararnava” written by one Somanarya was discovered by him in the family of the descendants of Syama Sastriar and that a copy of that manuscript has now been deposited in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library. Somanarya is not a name unknown in later Sanskrit Sangita Literature. In the paper on Later Sangita Literature, which I read before the Music Conference recently in December '32, I spoke about this Somanarya, who was well known as proficient in Ashtavadhana, attending to eight things at the same time and who has written a big treatise on Music called Natya Chudamani, two Mss. of which work, one having only the Svaradhyaya and the other complete, are available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. (Descriptive catalogue Vol. XXII. R. 12998 and Triennial catalogue 1910-11 to 1912-13 R. 366.). The Ms. containing the work completely is accompanied by a gloss in Telugu. The work reported from Tanjore

\* Vide Literary Supplements of the ‘Hindu’, Madras, 1932, December 20th, 26th, and afterwards.

may be a part of this *Natya Chudamani* or may be another separate work of *Somanarya*. If this *Svararnava* reported from Tanjore is really the work spoken of, as given to Tyagayya by a sage, scholars will do well to examine this *Natya Chudamani* in the Madras Mss. Library, since it is a work by the same *Somanarya*.

It will be highly useful if Mr. Sundarām Ayyar of Tanjore will examine the Ms. of the *Svararnava* mentioned by him and write in greater detail, whether it is the work, on whose theory is based Tyagayya's music, and whether it is set in the style of a dialogue between God Siva and Devi, as the song of Tyagayya says.

If it is not so proved, this *Svararnava* of *Somanarya* is different from the work given to Tyagayya. Further, I hear that the story is that the manuscript left with Tyagayya by the unknown sage was later found out by Tyagayya to be the work of sage Narada himself but not the work of *Somanarya*. Another question arises as regards this story of the *Svararnava*. Did Tyagayya get this work on the theory of music in the middle of his career? What was the textual basis for his earlier music? Is the ascription of the work to Narada only a story? Finding that Tyagayya's music had deviations, did anybody named *Somanarya* write a treatise for Tyagayya's music after his time? Mr. Sundarām Ayyar may enlighten us a good deal with the help of the Ms. of *Svararnavam*.

The other two works mentioned by Mr. Srinivasa Raghavachariar, as alluded to in the abovesaid Kirtana, are *Ragarnava* and *Sudharnava*. There is really a work called *Ragarnava*. I spoke of this work also in my paper above referred to. *Somanatha* quotes the *Ragarnava* in his *Raga Vibodha* and following him *Damodara* also in his *Sangita Darpana*. *Sarngadhara*, an anthologist, uses *Ragarnava* for compiling a small music-

section in his anthology—*Sarngadharapad-dhati*. Thus *Ragarnava* is earlier than 1300 A.D. which is the time of *Sarngadhara*.

The name *Sudharnava* does not give us much indication as the name of a work on music.

Lastly, I wish to point out, in connection with the music-work alluded to in the song "Svara Raga Sudha Rasa", that there is really a music work in Sanskrit called "Svara Raga Sudha Rasa". Unfortunately that work is not completely available. Of this work also I spoke in the recent conference. The Tala-section of this work, called *Tala-dasa-prana-lakshanam*, with a Telugu gloss, is available in the Madras Mss. Library, (Descriptive catalogue Vol. XXII. R. 12990). I invite the attention of music-scholars once again to this fragment of the work "Svara Raga Sudha Rasa" with which Sri Tyagayya has opened one of his Kirtanas.

### A work of Vyasa

Writing in the Hindu literary supplement Tuesday, 20th December, 1932, Mr. C. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar says that there is a work called *Vyasa Kataka* and that some attribute the baptism of the 72 Mela-Raga scheme to that work. The information is from the book of the late Abraham Panditar, who mentions that book as having been seen by him. It is also said that Mr. Abraham Panditar has once said that the book was seen by him in the hands of the late Puchchi Ayyangar but that this statement could not bear verification.

First of all, the word *Kataka* in the name of this imaginary work does not give any sense. Secondly, *Vyasa* is a rare name in *Sangita* literature, the only writer to mention his name in connection with *Natya Sastra* being *Saradatanaya*. Thirdly, I have not been able to find any such work, or any such name or any work of *Vyasa* in the Tanjore, Madras or Adayar libraries or in the catalogues of the libraries available.

outflow of your magnanimity in the free application of the several attributes to qualify my personality, humble as it is. God's mercy come upon me to merit your gifts and greetings! I thank you once more for the honour you have done me. May God Sri Ramachandra correct my career and compose my soul! May He bless you all with long life and prosperity! May *Nadopasana* reach all souls and bestow everlasting bliss!

*Aum Tat Sat !!*

## SOME NAMES IN EARLY SANGITA LITERATURE (Contd.)

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### Sangita Chudamani of King Pratapa.

*Another work.*

In my first paper on "Some names in early Sangita literature," published in this Journal, I had mentioned a king named Pratapa as being quoted by Parsvadeva in his Sangita Samaya Sara.\* Parsvadeva says in the 4th Chapter of this S. S. Sara :

पञ्चतलेश्वरो यद्वा इदं गद्यमथापि वा ।

आलिकमोऽयमेवोक्तः प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ॥

—प्रबन्धाध्यायः Sl, 80. Triv. Ed.

I could not make out the identity of this writer or the name of his work then. Now evidences have come up to show that King Pratapa was a great authority like Bhoja and Somesvara and that he wrote a work called **सङ्गीतचूतदामणि**. Kumaraswamin quotes this S. Chudamani in his commentary on the Prataparudriya, with regard

to curtains on the stage for *lasya* dance. (pp. 26. Balamanorama Edn.) The Triyandrum palace library has a copy of this work. (pp. 80. Ms. No. 1417).

The commentary on **गीतगोविन्द** by Lakshmidhara (Tanjore Ms.) quotes the S. Chudamani of King Pratapa :—

Pp. 10. on the *Prabandha* called तालार्णव—

तदुक्तं सं-चूडामणौ—

चतुर्भिः चातुर्भिः षड्भिश्चाङ्गैर्यस्मात्प्रयुज्यते ।

तस्मात्प्रबन्धः कथितः प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ॥

Again on pp. 16, it is quoted on **ध्रुवपद** or *Pallavi* in a song. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi is of opinion that this Pratapa is Tailapa I, a Western Chalukyan King, who is called Pratapachakravartin in his inscriptions. His date is 920, A. D.

\* Vide pp. 31, The Journal of the Music Academy Vol. III, Nos. 1 & 2.

## some names in early sangita literature

—By DR. V. RAGHAVAN

THE proper scope of this paper of mine is early Sangita literature. It does not propose to go into the Vedic period and the *Samapratishakhyas* nor to treat of the later literature i.e., roughly after the time of Sarngadeva, the author of the *Sangita Ratnakara* viz., the beginning of the 13th century. There is a rationale in this classification of mine of the periods of Sangita literature. The early literature is Sangita literature dealing with dance besides music, vocal and instrumental.

गीतं वाद्यं च नृत्तं च त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते ।

So the works of the earlier period treat of dance and drama also. Some are predominantly *Natya*, works, by the way, treating of Sangita at length. For instance, the Bharata Sastra on *Natya*, a work on drama and dance devotes 6 of its 36 chapters to music. Narada's *Sangita Makaranda* the *Sangita Ratnakara* etc., are works primarily on Sangita and they contain chapters on *Natya* also. As a contrast to this early period, the later is only Gita literature. This classification proceeds on the general rule, taking full cognisance of the presence of exceptions. For instance, the *Tala Dipika* quoted by Abhinavagupta is a work of the early period but restricts itself to a branch of music. In the later period, when the field was filled with digests or treatises on particular branches of music, we have such *Natya* works as the *Vasanta Rajiya Natya Sastra* of King Kumaragiri, which now lost must have dealt with music also. Jagaddhara's *Sangita Sarvasva* quoted by him in his commentary on King Bhoja's *Sarasvati Kanthabharana*, (P. 467) is a work of the later period but deals with *Natya*

besides music, as the quotation given there shows. *The Sangita Ratnakara* of Sarngadeva is the boundary line roughly, since it is the last comprehensive work, comprising within its scope all branches of music and in addition, *Natya*.

A history of the Sanskrit music literature is not in the field. A history of early Sangita literature is attempted here with the evidences supplied mainly by the great commentary of Acarya Abhinavagupta on the *Natya Sastra*, Saradatanaya's *Bhavaprakasa* etc. Even this does not propose to be a history but only a notice of some names in early Sangita literature. Some such thing is being attempted and published serially in the Journal of the Music Academy. A general survey, with dogmatic assertions and mystifying identifications has already been made by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi. This paper does not restate what is contained in Mr. R. Kavi's published paper. It proposes to be more definite and critical and attempts, with citation of authorities, as far as available, to ascertain the definite nature and date of many works and authors. Especially as regards the authors and works known from Abhinavagupta's *Abhinava Bharati*, this paper has much that is not contained in Mr. R. Kavi's paper. The scope of this paper is more restricted and the treatment is more intense on many points.

### Bharata's Natya Sastra

The only early work which is completely available to us is the *Bharata Natya Sastra*. Its upper limit is fixed at the 2nd century B.C. It treats of music in chapters 28-33. Scholars



are exercising all their industry and ingenuity with regard to the real historical fact about a sage Bharata.

Mr. Manmohan Ghose, suggests in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, that Bharata was a common name meaning 'actor' at first, that we had *Natya Sutras* and *Bharata Sutras* and that latterly a mythology of a sage Bharata and origin of *Natya* were created out of the common name Bharata. The present text of *Bharata Sastra* contains *Anushtups*, *Aryas* and long prose paragraphs and occasionally here and there Sutra-like prose bits. Some of the *Aryas* and *Anushtups*, in chapters 6 and 7 on *Rasa*, are introduced as those existing before, with the words अत्रानुवंशौ श्लोकौ भवतः । अत्रानुवंशे आये भवतः । तत्र श्लोकाः । One of the *Anushtups* herein quoted is attributed to Vasuki in the *Bhava-prakasa* by Saradatanaya (pp. 36 and 37). In the गेयधिकार, chapters 28-33, it is only in the 32 and 33, that we find additional prose and verses introduced thus—भवन्त्यत्र. The last chapter on नाट्यावतार says that the rest will be dealt with by Kohala. The last portion is called *Nandi Bharata* in the Kavya Mala edition. Besides, from Raghava Bhatta's commentary on the *Sakuntala*, we know of an Adi Bharata and a Bharata, verses attributed to these two some of them being found, some found only as parallels and some not found at all in the *Natya Sastra*. We hear of a Bharata Vrddha from Saradatanaya, who attributes to him a prose passage on *Rasa*, which is found in the present *Bharata Sastra* only in its parallel. Further the *Natya Sastra* seems to have been called सूत्र and षट्साहस्री and there is a tradition recorded in *Bhavaprakasa* and other works that the *Bharata Natya Sastra* is an epitome perhaps of the द्वादशसाहस्री. Abhinava himself speaks of three Sastras, of Sadasiva, Brahman and Bharata, the *Natya* trinity found in the story of the origin of *Natya*. Mr. Kavi informs us that there is also a *Natya Veda* of 36,000 slokas and that portions of the Sadasiva, and Brahma Bharatas are available now. There is no denying the fact of big works on *Natya* and *Sangita* existing as works of Sadasiva and Brahman. The *Dasarupa* contains verses of Sadasiva, while the *Bhavaprakasa* quotes opinions of both Sadasiva and Brahman. It is likely that the extant *Natya Sastra* of Bharata is one that has incorporated into itself many portions of earlier *Bharata Sastras*.

Similarly it has also incorporated into itself portions of later works. The present text

is later than Kohala and even Dattila. These two writers are included in the list of the hundred sons of Bharata whom he taught. The inclusion of Tandu here does not help us much. Kohala is referred to twice in the last chapter. In the second reference he is made to come along with धृतिर्ल (दत्तिल ?) and some other sages to earth, to live as mortals for sometime for the sake of King Nahusha to write and popularise the Drama on earth. After King Nahusha brought *Natya* from heaven to earth Brahman says that the उत्तरतंत्र will be written by Kohala. This makes the *Bharatiya Natya Sastra* the पूर्वतंत्र. There is no evidence to prove that Kohala's work is called उत्तरतंत्र. His work must have been bigger than Bharata's and as we know from references, he elaborated many a topic, as for instance, the many *Uparupakas*. That part of Kohala's work, stray bits here and there got into the text of Bharata cannot be disputed. For, in commenting upon the tenth verse in chapter six—giving the summary of the topics in the *Natya Sastra* as eleven—*Udbhata* is referred to by Abhinavagupta as saying that this verse is from Kohala and is not part of Bharata's text, for Bharata recognises only five *Angas* or topics in the *Natya Sastra*. Again in the *Dasarupa* chapter we find more treatment than is promised, the *Natika* being described after *Nataka* and *Pra-karana*, though it is not one of the *Dasarupakas*. Kohala is very well known as the first to have introduced, with definitions, *Uparupakas* and the *Natika* here, is perhaps from Kohala, though there is no conclusive evidence to take it so.

The षट्च भरत story is very late. We find Mr. R. Kavi speaking much of it. There is nothing to support it in the *Natya Sastra*, which gives a list of hundred Bharatas, sons of sage Bharata. Of these hundred sons, we are familiar with Kohala, Dattila and Tandu. The list is a hopeless one, containing such names as Sandals and Shoes, पादुकोपानहौ. The origin of the षट्च भरत theory is not traced. Saradatanaya, in chapter three, first considers the name 'Bharata' only as actor. The गुरुपरम्परा here given is Siva-Nandin-Brahman and the Bharatas, actors and not Bharata, a sage. But at the end Saradatanaya contradicts himself by saying that Narada taught Bharata and Bharata wrote the रसोत्पत्ति as he heard it from Narada. But this kind of रसोत्पत्ति is not recorded in the extant *Natya Sastra*. Saradatanaya gives this same *parampara* in chapter ten

changing the 'Bharatas', actors, into one sage with five pupils.

स्मृतमात्रे मुनिः कश्चित् शिष्यैः पञ्चभिरन्वितः  
तान्ब्रवीत् नाट्यवेदं 'भरत' इति पितामहः  
तुष्टस्तेभ्यो वरं प्रादात् अमीष्टं पद्म विष्टरः  
नाट्यवेदमिदं यस्मात् 'भरत' इति मयेरितम्  
तस्माद् भरत नामानः भविष्यथ जगन्त्रयै  
नाट्यवेदोऽपि भवता नाम्ना ख्यातिं गमिष्यति ॥

Bha. Pra.X.

The passage refers to one sage with five pupils, who were the first recipients of the Natya Veda and whom Brahman called Bharatas. This same verse is quoted by Mr. R. Kavi to prove the *Panca Bharatas*. As a matter of fact the first verse above given proves not five Bharatas, but one and five i.e. six Bharatas. Again, all these were called Bharatas because, according to the ingenious derivation Saradatanaya gives here, viz., भस्त 'you bear or hold or preserve the Natya Veda', (imperative of भृ, भर to bear) Bharatas were so addressed by Brahman. (vide verses quoted above). This also proves the theory that the name Bharata as a sage is a later myth and that Bharatas at first meant only actors. But it is rather strange how actors could have been known as Bharatas. Saradatanaya's explanation is far-fetched. The still later and most popular derivation, explaining Bharata as an epitome of the first letters of भाव, राग and ताल is equally far fetched.

Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi adduces further evidence from Tamil literature, from Adiyarkku Nallar's commentary on the *Silappadikaram*. This also is wrong evidence. Adiyarkku Nallar does mention the name '*Panca Bharatiyam*,' but mentions it not as a collection of five works on *Natya* by five different writers, but as one single work by one author, the author of it being Deva Rishi Narada. When thus the evidences adduced mean something else and the theory of five Bharatas in early *Natya* literature falls to the ground, it is futile to suppose imaginatively and suggest that Kohala is the second Bharata, another, the third and so on, as Mr. R. Kavi does. The exact import of the word '*Panca Bharatiyam*' in Adiyarkku Nallar means something else. It refers to a custom of dividing the subject of *Natya* into five heads or sections. Another Tamil *Natya* work, *Panca Marabu*, referred to by the same Adiyarkku Nallar, is also one such which

treats of *Natya* in five sections. The five sections may be the five *Angas* of *Natya* referred to by Abhinava as Bharata's view,—the five *Anagas* being the three *Abhinayas* and the two kinds of music, vocal and instrumental. (pp. 265. Chap. VI, Gaek. Ed.)

Another point to be investigated in the history of early *Natya* literature is the part played by king Nahusha in it. The last chapter of the available *Natya Sastra* gives king Nahusha the credit of bringing from heaven to earth, the beautiful lore of *Natya*. In Saradatanaya's *Bhavaprakasa*, in the tenth chapter, Manu takes the place of king Nahusha. Manu as king feels tired in his duty and Surya his father, asks him to go to Brahman who has got the *Natya Veda* from Siva. Brahman sent six Bharatas along with Manu to Ayodhya to receive him now and then with the entertainment of Drama, Dance and Music. The Bharatas then multiplied on earth; they wrote treatises, one in twelve thousand slokas, and another, an epitome of the former, in six thousand slokas. After the name of those who possess and exhibit it, the *Sastra* itself is called *Bharata Sastra*.

Coming to the many names in Sangita literature, mythical and semi-mythical, the likelihood is that, as in the case of Sadasiva and Brahman, the names were only of eponymous authors; but there were definitely works on *Natya* and music current as theirs. This we shall see, as we take up such names, one by one.

### Kasyapa

This sage is referred to by Sarngadeva as one of the authorities on music. He is mentioned in Narada's *Sangita Makaranda* (p. 13). Matanga's *Brhaddesi* refers to him seven times. The *Abhinava Bharati* of Abhinavagupta contains two references to this sage, in Vol. IV of the Madras MSS. The first reference is a quotation from the *Tika-Kara* (Commentator) on the *Natya Sastra* who quotes in his commentary, one and half *Anushtups* of Kasyapa dealing with the रसप्रयोग of Ragas i.e., the particular tunes appropriate to each Rasa.

“संभोगे चैव शृंगारे प्रोलिङ्गकाम . . . . . (?)  
. . . . . स्तेषुसर्वेषु कुर्यान्मातु (ल) वकौशिक (कं)  
मिन्न षड् जोपमाभेदैः ह्येकान्ता जीवितस्यवा ।”

Vol. IV Mad. MS. p. 5



The second reference to Kasyapa given by Abhinavagupta is on the same page, on the same topic.

“तत्र लक्ष्य प्रबन्धगाने प्रायोगिक कश्यपादुद्दिष्टं  
(कश्यपाद्युद्दिष्टं) विनियोगजातं कथ्यते ।

And Abhinava gives eight pages of *Anush-tups* on the particular tunes to be used according to the various *Rasas* and *Bhavas*. This is either a quotation or a compilation made by Abhinava himself from Kasyapa and other writers, for he says at the end—

इत्येष कश्यपाद्युक्तः विनियोगो निरूपितः

An earlier reference is available in chapter five.

एतदुपजीवनेनोक्त कश्यपाचार्येण—“पूर्वरङ्गे तु षाडवः” इति ।

Kasyapa dealt with Drama and *Alankara* also elaborately since he is so referred to by *Hridayangama*, a commentary on the *Kavyadarsa* of Dandin.

### Brhat Kasyapa

Besides Kasyapa, there is yet another called Brhat Kasyapa, an early writer on music. There are two references to him in the work of King Nanyadeva. (pp. 111-b and 114-a; Manuscript of the *Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*.) Thus there are two works on music by sage Kasyapa, one being *Laghu Kasyapa* and another *Brhat Kasyapa*, the latter being similar to *Brhat Desi*.

### Nandikesvara or Nandin

The place of Nandin in the mythological origin of the *Natya Sastra* is by the side of Siva himself. The latter portion of the *Bharata Natya Sastra* in the Kavya Mala edition is called *Nandi Bharata*. Works attributed to him are many. There is a music work called *Nandi Bharata*, noticed by Rice in Mysore and Coorg Catalogue. The Madras Catalogue has a नन्दिभरतोक्त संकरहस्ताध्यायः and another work called भरतार्थचन्द्रिका with a Telugu Commentary described as a dialogue between Nandikesvara and Parvati.

“इति नन्दिकेश्वर विरचित पार्वतीप्रयुक्त भरत चन्द्रिका  
नानार्थप्रकरणं समाप्तमासीत् ॥”

From the manuscript of the *Bhartarnava* in the Tanjore library we see that this is the tenth chapter in Nandikesvara's *Bharatarnava*.

The Tanjore library has a work called ताल-लक्षण attributed to Nandikesvara. Most of the works attributed to him treat more of *Natya* than *Sangita*. In Rajasekhara's *Kavya Mimamsa*, in his account of the origin of the *Sahitya Sastra*, Nandikesvara is mentioned as the first writer on *Rasa*. So it is likely that the name Nandikesvara is not important in music as much as in Dance, Drama and *Rasa*.

One of his major works was not available to Abhinavagupta. Abhinava, while quoting him, says that he is reproducing Nandikesvara's views, exactly as quoted by Kirtidharacarya, only on the authority of Kirtidhara and that he himself never saw the work of Nandikesvara.

‘यत्तत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्र गामित्वेन (?)

दर्शितं तदन्याभिः (तदस्माभिः) न दृष्टं, तत्प्रत्याक्षं लिख्यते’

Vol. IV, p. 50.

Then Abhinava gives, as given by Kirtidhara large prose extracts from Nandikesvara on pp. 51-54, on the प्रयोग of मार्गसारित, dances in the पूर्वरङ्ग. Though one such work of Nandikesvara, which was available to Kirtidhara was not available to Abhinava, another work called नन्दिमत was available to Abhinava and he quotes it.

“तथा च नन्दिमते उक्तं—

‘रेचितारव्योऽङ्गहारो यो द्विधा तेन हयशेषतः

तुष्यन्ति देवातास्तेन ताण्डवे ते नियोजयेत् ॥’

P. 171 Gaekwad

The assumption of the identity of Nandikesvara with Tandu made by Mr. R. Kavi is quite wrong. As proved above the legend of *Panca Bharata* has no evidence. There is no meaning in idle guesses or assumptions that Nandin or Tandu or Kohala or Kasyapa is one of the five Bharatas. Incidentally we will deal with the name Tandu: also. Tandu is mentioned in the *Natya Sastra* as one of the 100 sons of Bharata, to whom Bharata taught his *Natya*. But latterly he is made to belong to the camp of Siva, and through Tandu, who was a witness of Siva's evening dances. Siva passes the Tandava dances

to Sage Bharata. Abhinava quotes Kohala (p. 182. Gaek Ed.) who says that when Siva was dancing, Narada propitiated him by singing the त्रिपुरोन्माद्यः; Siva danced according to Narada's song; and gave this Tandava, as part of *Natya*, to Tandu who passed it to others. In connection with Tandava there is also mention of one Tandya. Thus it is very difficult to hazard any such thing as Mr. R. Kavi has done, as regards the name Tandu. Whether Tandu first existed is a question. It is most likely that Tandava first existed and to create a beautiful story for its origin, grammar was resorted to and Tandu was, latterly, grammatically extracted out of the word Tandava, which word itself was long a रूढि among the *Natas*, even as जज्ञैर and other terms. Kohala's *Sangita Meru* as quoted extensively by Kallinatha, in the नर्तनाध्याय, refers to one Bhatta Tandu five times. The affix 'Bhatta' to the name Tandu makes him less mythological and more historical. Whether another historical writer with the name Bhatta Tandu existed is not yet known.

Nandikesvara's very popular work is the *Abhinaya Darpana*. It is available in print, being printed in Telugu characters by Nidamangalam Tiruvenkatachari and subsequently translated into English by A.K. Coomaraswamy and Duggarilal. The compiler of the *Bharata Rasa Prakarana* printed along with it was Sabhapati Ayyar, a Brahmin Bharatacarya of the Tanjore Court, a Bhagavata who finally settled at Mannargudi and taught his art to some. This *Abhinaya Darpana* is fitted into the style of a dialogue between Indra and Nandin. Nandin says that there is a big work called 'भरतार्णव' 'ocean of the Bharata art', in four thousand slokas and that the *Abhinaya Darpana* itself is its summary. We often hear of the early *Natya* works of twelve thousand and six thousand verses. But this work of four thousand verses is new. There is a work called भरतार्णव available in the Madras and Tanjore MSS libraries. Three copies of this भरतार्णव with Telugu *Tika* are available in the Madras MSS Library. (Catalogue Volume XXII nos. 13006-08.) These MSS have in their colophons an epithet सुमतिबोध to the name भरतार्णव. The significance of this epithet is known only from the Tanjore Library MSS. of the *Bharatarnava*. It is called there as गुह्येश्वरभरत which is a mistake for गुह्यकेशभरत. Sumati is the king of the semi-divine beings called गुह्यक and the work *Bharatarnava* is in the style of Nandin teaching the *Natya* lore to this Guhyakesa called Sumati. From the colophon to chapter ten

of this work in the Tanjore library, we come to know of another work called भरतचन्द्रिका, the *Hastabhinaya* section of which is utilised by Nandikeswara. From chapter thirteen, we also see that there is a work on *Natya* in the name of sage Yajnavalkya.

“सुमते श्रूयतां सम्यक् याज्ञवल्क्यो महामुनिः

ताण्डवानां गतीनां च भरतार्णव लक्षणे ॥

नाट्यशब्दक्रमं सम्यक् उक्तवान् क्रमपूर्वकम् ।”

Chapter thirteen, deals with the seven kinds of *Lasya*, which perhaps were dealt with elaborately in a work attributed to sage Yajnavalkya.

### Narada

Abhinava refers to Narada in Vol. II page 100 with regard to the etymology and meaning of the word गान्धर्व.

प्रीतिवर्धनमिति नारदीयनिर्वचनमपि सूचिते ॥

Dattila earlier than Matanga, who quotes him, quotes Narada. Matanga also quotes Narada. We have at least two Naradas: one, the author of the *Siksha* and the other, the author of the *Sangita Makaranda* published in the Gaekwad series. Scholars opine that the Narada referred to as holding the गान्धर्वग्राम is the author of the *Sangita Makaranda* which has that ग्राम. This is to show the genuineness of the *Sangita Makaranda* as a work of Narada. The *Sangita Makaranda*, on page thirteen, gives the names of a number of writers. The reference to Matrgupta here definitely puts the date of the *Sangita Makaranda* after the seventh century. Vikrama is another noteworthy, and indentifiable name quoted here. Two names that we miss in this list are Kohala and Dattila. The Tanjore Library has a work attributed to Narada, called चत्वारिंशच्छतारगनिरूपणं.

### Kohala

It is from Kallinatha that we have the best glimpse into Kohala. In the नर्तनाध्याय of the *Sangita Ratnakara*, in his commentary, Kallinatha gives the additional करवर्तनास from Kohala. From here we learn some facts about Kohala's work.

(i) Kohala's work is called *Sangita Meru*.

(ii) It is in dialogue style, like the *Bharata Sastra*, a dialogue between Sage Sardula and

Kohala, the latter replying to the former's queries.

(iii) It is in Anushtup verses.

(iv) Its first part treated of *Natya* and the latter part only of *Sangita*. The work was thus in the style of the ancient works, in dialogue style and divided into *Ahnikas*. The extracts from Kohala given by Kallinatha quote the following names:

भट्टतण्डु, कीर्तिधर, नारद (author of the *Siksha*), शंभु (God Siva), मतङ्ग, सुमन्तु, क्षेमराज and लोहितभट्टक।

These references are absolutely confusing. The names भट्टतण्डु, सुमन्तु, क्षेमराज and लोहितभट्टक look quite historical. Kirtidhara is later than Nandikesvara's work. But the reference to Matanga is hopeless for Matanga himself quotes Kohala. Matanga's *Brhadhesi* further quotes Dattila, who himself quotes Kohala. The only possible conclusion is: We know Kohala to be a very early writer whose name is by the side of Bharata. The last chapter of *Bharata Natya Sastra* contains a promise that the rest will be done by Kohala. Though there is yet little authority to make out Kohala as one of the 5 Bharatas whom Brahman instructed (as Mr. R. Kavi has made out), there is no denying that Kohala was a very early writer. A music work called 'ताललक्षण' is attributed to him in Aufrecht's catalogue. The Madras Catalogue contains a *Kohaliya Abhinaya Sastra* with a Telugu commentary. A Dattila-Kohaliya noticed by Dr. Burnell, was once available in the Tanjore Library. Rajasekhara's Drama *Bala Ramayana* lifts his name out of the historical sphere. These show—

- (i) Kohala was an old and convenient name to which later writers could ascribe their own works.
- (ii) There was a very early work of Kohala.
- (iii) *The Sangita Meru* itself may not be actually this first work of Kohala but may be an elaborated one of some later time foisted on the name of Kohala. But the *Sangita Meru* may be that well known work of Kohala which Abhinava quotes often.

Abhinavagupta refers to Kohala very often both in the नाट्याधिकार and in the गेयाधिकार. The name Kohala is as great in the history of Drama and Dramaturgy as it is in that of music. *The Sangita Meru* must be a very voluminous and valuable work. In Dramaturgy and Rhetoric, Kohala is always quoted even by later

writers as the writer who first introduced the *Uparupakas*, minor types of Dramas, *Totaka*, *Sattaka* etc. In the Madras MSS. Library there are some fragments described as extracts from Kohala's works. Thus we have कोहलीयं अभिनयशास्त्रं and ताललक्षणं (Nos. 12,989 and 12992 Cat. Vol. XXII.) There is also a work called कोहलरहस्यं, available in this library—Triennial 1910-11 to 1912-13. Only the 13th chapter is available. It is set in dialogue style, Kohala replying to Matanga.

### Dattila

Dattila is often Dantila also. He is often coupled with Kohala and the reason is not known. Dattila is a very early writer whom, especially in the गेयाधिकार Abhinava quotes very frequently, more often than even Kohala. He is referred to as दत्तिलाचार्य and from the references we may infer that Dattila's work was in *Anushtups* like Kohala's and Bharata's.

'Dattilam' published in the Trivandrum series is only a very late fragmentary selection or condensation of the early original and big work of Dattila, which is not yet available. Dattila's work must have, like other early works, dealt with dance and dramaturgy. It must have been big. The Trivandrum text of Dattilam is very small even as regards music. It has no section on drama and dance. There is no denying the fact that Dattila's work treated of नाट्य also.

The Trivandrum edition of Dattilam quotes Narada, Kohala and Visakhila. Even as regards the original Dattila, it may be only later to Kohala.

There are two copies of a work called रागसागरं in the Madras MSS. Library (Cat. Vol. XXII Nos. 13,014 and 13,015) in 3 *Tarangas*, रागविमर्श, श्रुतिस्वररागविमर्श, and रागध्यानविधानं। The last *Taranga* gives the *Rshi Chandas* and *Dhyana* of each *Raga*. The colophon of this work describes it as a dialogue between Narada and Dattila.

“इति श्रीरागसागरे नारददत्तिल संवादे रागविमर्शको नाम प्रथमस्तरङ्गः।

### Anjaneya

If we can expect a शाङ्खल and an अश्वतर as *Sangita Acaryas*, why not Anjaneya? As a



matter of fact, evidences of Anjaneya having had some work on *Natya* and music to his credit, are more than those available for many others of his class. Sarngadeva and Narada enumerate him in their lists. On p. 251. Caek. ed., defining and describing the *Rupaka* called उत्सृष्टिकां, Saradatanaya quotes in his *Bhava-prakasa*, Anjaneya along with व्यास ।

अस्यांकमेकं भरतः द्वावकाविति कोहलः ।

व्यासाञ्जनेयगुहः प्राहुरंकत्रयं यदा ॥

#### Chap. VIII

Again as Maruti, he is quoted by Saradatanaya on p. 114. 19 in Chap. V. From the first given reference we can make out that Anjaneya's work dealt with Dramaturgy at length. From the other reference in the *Bhavaprakasa* we see that this नित्यब्रह्मचरिन् work dealt elaborately with वैशिक also, even as Bharata's. As regards the signs by which another man's wife shows her love to her secret lover, Saradatanaya quotes मारुति, who says that such signs or indications *Bhavas* are common to all women.

ये भावा राग चिन्हानि स्त्रीणामुक्ताः पृथक् पृथक्  
साधारणस्ते सर्वासां स्त्रीणामित्याह मारुतिः ॥

That Anjaneya's work dealt with music also is plain. Kallinatha quotes him on p. 218, chap. 2 on *Desi Ragas* :—

“तथा चाह आञ्जनेयः—

येषां श्रुतिस्वरग्राम जात्यादि नियमो न हि ।

नानादेश गतिच्छायाः देशीरागास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥

*Sangita Darpana* of Damodara, a later work which quotes Sarngadeva and Kallinatha, quotes Anjaneya twice. The first reference is a general praise on *Nada*.

अत्र आञ्जनेयः

“नादाब्धेस्तु परं पारं न जानाति सरस्वती ।

अद्यापि मञ्जन भयात्तु बुं वहति वक्षसि ॥”

Again in the enumeration of *Ragas* and their consorts—*Raginis*—he is quoted as Hanuman. This reference makes Hanuman's work as expounding the northern system which alone has the scheme of *Raga-Raginis*. We also hear of a work on *Natya* called हनुमद्भरत . Ahobala, in his *Sangita Parijata* refers to and bases his definitions often on Hanuman.

#### Sardula

Sarngadeva's and Narada's lists contain the name of Sardula. In the latter's list there is

also another name व्याल which is only a synonym of शार्दूल . Similarly there are 2 references under two different synonyms to Vishnu and Indra, in the *Sangita Makaranda*. Sarngadeva couples शार्दूल with कोहल , Neither Abhinavagupta nor Sarngadeva nor Kallinatha refer to any opinion of Sardula. It is thus very likely that Sardula finds a place among Sangita Acaryas because he is the questioner to whom Kohala's *Sangita Meru* is addressed as reply. The *Brhaddesi* however has two references to Sardula independently.

#### Durgasakti

Durgasakti is referred to as दुर्गशक्ति by Matanga. It is likely he is a historical personage. Besides mentioning him in his list of authorities at the beginning, Sarngadeva refers to him along with Kasyapa on p. 182 S.R.

#### Yashtika

Sarngadeva mentions Yashtika as an authority on music in his list. Matanga quotes him seven times. Nanyadeva quotes him once. From the latter fact we can take that there was some definite work on music current as Yashtika's. The fact gains additional support from a reference to him given by Kallinatha on p. 228 in Chapter 2.

#### Kambala and Asvatara

These two are always associates and are two figures in the mythological pantheon of Sangita Acaryas. Sarngadeva mentions these two as authorities on music and again quotes them in chapter 1, p. 78 as holding some definite opinion, different from that of Bharata. The reference proves that some music work was extant as theirs, but need not prove that that work was available to Sarngadeva, who might have referred to their view from references in the works of earlier writers. We do not hear of these two anywhere else in the works of the early period but have some information about them in Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*. These two are not “Wool” and “Ass” but “Snakes”. They propitiated Sarasvati, got the नादविद्या and became the ear-ornaments, कुरङ्गल of God Siva, a post from which they could be pouring their music into the ears of God.

Kambala and Asvatara are mentioned as two Nagas, serpents in the list of Nagas in chapter 35, Adiparva M. Bha.

The Markandeya Purana gives their story in Chapter 21.

### Matanga

Abhinava quotes sage Matanga only twice—pp. 59 and 67, Vol. IV Mad. MSS. Since quotations from his work given by other writers are found here, we may take the Trivandrum Ed. of Matanga's *Brhaddesi* as genuine though it is incomplete. Matanga quotes:

Kasyapa, Kohala, Dattila, Durgasakti, Nandikesvara, Narada, Brahman, Bharata, Mahesvara, Yashtika, Vallabha, Visvavasu and Sardula.

Of these names Vallabha must be noted. We do not hear of this Sangitacharya Vallabha anywhere else.

From a reference in Kallinatha, on page 82, we see that Matanga quotes Rudrata, who flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century. Hence the *Brhaddesi* is later than the ninth century.

Damodaragupta, in his *Kuttanimata* makes Matanga a specialist in flute.

“सुविरस्वरप्रयोगे प्रतिपादन मण्डितो मतङ्गमुनिः ।”

Sl. 854.

The *Brhaddesi* must have been famous for the excellence of its सुविराध्याय and this has resulted in a story of Sangita, that Matanga propitiated Siva by singing on the flute. Abhinava mentions this story in the सुविराध्याय Vol. IV, page 58.

“पूर्वं भगवन्महेश्वराराधनं मतङ्गमुनिप्रभृतिभिः

वेणुमिति (?) ततोवंशइति प्रासिद्धः

The *Vadyadhyaya* of *Brhaddesi* itself seems to have been held in high esteem. Jayasimha (C. 1253 A.D.) in his work on *Natya* called *Nrtta Ratnavali* (Tanjore Library) mentions the वाद्याध्याय of Matanga's *Brhaddesi*.

### Visakhila

Abhinavagupta quotes Visakhilacharya six times in his commentary on the *Geyadhikara*. His work was earlier to that of Dattila who quotes him.

### Vayu

Vayu is given in the list of Sarngadeva and Narada. We have no other information about him in any other authoritative work. His must certainly be a prominent niche in the temple of the Sangitacaryas for, as wind that sings through the atmosphere and the trees, as the carrier of music, as the प्राणवायु which creates नाद and as air playing in the holes of the flute, certainly Vayu's part is very great in any myth of the origin of *Sangita Sastra*. It is also likely that the name Vayu refers to the *Vayupurana* which says something of music.

### Visvavasu

Visvavasu is merely enumerated by Sarngadeva. Matanga attributes to him some opinion in his *Brhaddesi*, on p. 4. Simha Bhupala, in his commentary on the *Svaradhyaya* of the *Sangita Ratnakara* quotes a passage from Visvavasu. It may be that there is a work in his name. Visvavasu is the name of one of the Gandharvas who are, as a class, musicians and as a Gandharva at least, he enters the list. The name of Tumburu is similar. He is not only a Gandharva but is often associated with Narada also and hence has a double title to enter the list.

### Rambha and Arjuna

Rambha is a mere name now, no work in her name being available. As an Apsara and exponent of *Natya* in heaven, she has a sure place in the list. Arjuna's name is also found in the lists. His meeting with Rambha in heaven and his sojourn at Viratas's court as Brhannala, a tutor of dance, have sufficient cause for the possibility of some later writer ascribing a work of his to the name of Arjuna. There is a work called *Arjuna Bharata* available in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library.

### Ravana

Ravana's name is associated with *Samagana* and with a particular kind of *Veena*. Rajasekhara's drama, *Bala Ramayana* makes Kohala praise Ravana as having had the fortune of enjoying God Siva himself perform *Natya*. So far, we have not landed on any evidence of quotation to show that, in fact, there is a work in the name of Ravana even as the many *Stotras* current in his name.

Guna is another name in Narada's list, which is a mere name, no further light upon him being available. So are also the following names found in Narada's list:

Two Haris, Visvakarman, Hariscandra, Kamalasyaka (may be Brahman), Candi (probably only Devi), Angada (who must naturally go with Anjaneya), Shanmukha and Bhrngi (these 2 because of their being the audience at Siva's dance), Kubera (as he is a friend of Siva according to Puranas), sage Kusika, Samudra, Sarasvati (because she is the Goddess of all *विद्या*s) Bali, Yaksha, and Kinnaresa (because Kinnaras are described in the *Kavyas* and *Puranas* as singing with instruments.)

But two names in Narada's list must be noted, besides that of मनुगुप्त, viz., समुद्र and विक्रम. This Vikrama is not quoted elsewhere and it is difficult to fix the Sangitacarya Vikrama among the many Vikramas in Indian history. The other, Samudra is certainly not the ocean, but, as regards him, no other evidence is available.

#### Svati

Of Svati mentioned in Sarngadeva's list, some light is available. It is not likely he has any work to his credit but still belongs to the pantheon of Sangitacaryas. Bharata says in Chapter 1, that on the occasion of the first drama in Indra's flag festival, he took Svati and Narada with him, Svati for भाण्डवाद्य (drum) and Narada for music.

स्वातिर्भाण्डनियुक्तस्तु सह शिष्यैस्त्वयं भुवा ।

नारदाद्याश्च गन्धर्वाः गानयोगे नियोजिताः ॥

स्वातिनारद संयुक्तो वेद वेदांग कारणम् ।

उपस्थितोऽहं लोकेशं प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलिः ॥

Abhinavagupta here says in his commentary that Svati was responsible for the invention of the drum called, पुष्कर. Svati is a constellation associated with rain and is also a *Rishi*. Abhinava exercises his imagination with the aid of the descriptions in *Kavyas* and connects the deep rumblings of the clouds with the sounds produced on the *Pushkara* and thus makes Svati, to whose charge Bharata gave the drum, भाण्डवाद्य as the founder of the पुष्कर .

“स्वातिः ऋषिर्विशेषः येन जलधर समय निपतत्सलिल धारा वैचित्र्या भिहन्त्यमान पुष्कर दल बिलसित रचित

विचित्र वर्णानुहरण योजनया यथास्वं वृत्तिनियमेन  
पुष्कर वाद्य निर्माणं कृतमित्यर्थः ।”

Abhi. Bharati, P. 23, Geak. ed.

The story of this invention of पुष्कर and also the other *अवनद्ध* by Rishi Svati on a rainy day is told by Bharata himself in the पुष्कराध्याय Chapter 33, Kasi ed., Sls. 5-12. Abhinava only summarises in prose the verses there.

#### Kamadeva

Though the name of Cupid is not found in the lists of the various *Natya* and *Sangitacaryas*, we have evidence to show that some work on *Natya Sastra* was current in his name. There is a work called ताललक्षण in the Madras MSS. Library (Cat. Vol. XXII, No. 12,993 ), which quotes *Kamadeva*.

“चरणनृत्यलक्षणं तु कामदेवेन—

उद्धता वाद्यवक्त्रेषु..... ।”

This *tala-lakshana* is a *ate* work and it quotes Saradatanaya's *Bhavaprakasa*.

#### Dhenuka

Damodargupta says in his *Kuttanimata* :

कीदृच्छोनयमार्गं धेनुकरचिते च तालके कीदृक् ।

प्रोङ्खणकादावेवं पृच्छति नृत्योपदेशकं यत्नार ॥

Sl. 82

From this verse we come to know that there is one Dhenuka who has specially written on *Tala*. Who this Dhenuka is and what his work is, are not known. Nor is he mentioned elsewhere.

#### Daksha Prajapati

Simha Bhupala, in his commentary on the *Svaradhyaya* of the *Sangita Ratnakara* quotes Daksha Prajapati, who is no mere name, but in whose name must have been current an important work.

“स्वेच्छया षड्जावस्थापनमङ्गीकृत्यैवदन्तिल दक्षप्रजा-

पत्यादयः अवधानं गान्धर्वज्ञत्वेन अङ्गीचक्रुः ।

दक्षप्रजापतिरपि--

“अवधानानि गान्धर्वं पश्चात्स्वरपदादयः

अवधानातिरेकेण त्रिविधं नोपपद्यते ॥ इत्याह”

### Utpala Deva

We now come to writers and works regarding whose verity there is little doubt. From Abhinavagupta's *Abhinava Bharati*, we learn that Abhinava's own Paramaguru i.e., preceptor's preceptor in Saivism, Srimad Utpaladeva wrote also on *Sangita*. Otherwise there is no indication of his having written on music. But we can surely rely on the *Prasishya's* evidence and take Utpaladeva as an early writer on *Sangita*. Abhinava quotes him four times in his *Abhinava Bharati*. The first quotation is in the जात्यध्याय, Chap. 29.

अन्ये त्वाहुः स्वरा इत्यलङ्कारैकदेशाः प्रयोज्यायां तु  
(?) ज्ञाताः ।

श्रीमदुत्पल देवपादास्तथा मन्यन्ते ।

Vol. IV, p. 21, Mad. Ms. of *Abhinava Bharati*.

The second reference is in the same chapter on the next page of this Volume.

‘परमगुरु श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादानां मते वर्णानां  
पदनिबन्धत्वे तदाश्रितालंकार गीतविप्रयोगयोः’

The third reference is in the Chapter 31, page 84 of Volume IV, here also Abhinava differs from his grand-teacher.

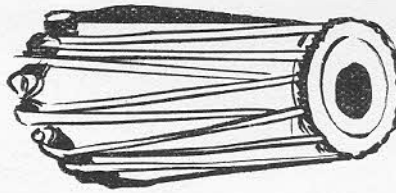
The fourth reference to Utpaladeva is on page 188, Volume IV.

‘यथोक्तं श्रीमदुत्पल देवपादैः—  
स्थितस्थायित्वसंपन्नात् प्रस्तुत स्थमयोजनं  
ध्रुवासु यद्यदन्येभ्यः तद्वत्प्रज्ञोपकल्पयेत् ॥’

From this last quotation we may infer that Utpala's music work was written in *Anustups*. Utpaladeva's date is easily fixed. His प्रशिष्य, आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त पाद flourished at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries.

(To be continued)

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# Some Names In Early Sangeet Literature

WE must separately deal with the commentators on the *Natya Sastra*. The only commentator whose work has been recovered is Abhinavagupta. Even his *Abhinava Bharati* is

available in the Madras manuscript only up to a part of the तालाध्याय and there is some lacuna in the seventh chapter. The 8th is also missing. The *Abhinava Bharati*, edited by Mr. R. Kavi, in the Gaekwad series, is a store-house of information, giving us material to construct a history of early Sangita literature. Abhinava's life was a full and very rich one. His place in the history of Kashmir Saivism is as great as that of Sri Sankara in *Advaita* literature. His importance in *Alankara*, i.e., poetics, is also as great. He studied the *Natya Sastra* under 'the good Brahmin' Tota, Bhatta Tota or Tauta, the author of *Kavya Kautuka*, an *Alankara* work upon which also Abhinavagupta has commented. Tota was a scholar of *Natya* and music and Abhinava often refers to his interpretations of the text of the *Natya Sastra* in the गेयधिकार also as Upadhyaya's *mata*. Besides Tauta, one Nrsimhagupta *alias* Mukhala (Cukhala) was the preceptor in music to Abhinavagupta. He mentions this music teacher in two verses at the end of chapters 20 and 27:

नृसिंहगुप्तायतिनेत्यमत्र वृत्तिस्वरूपं प्रकटं व्यधायि ।  
यत् तत् त्रिनेत्रेण हृदन्तरात्मस्वरूपमेव प्रकटं व्यधायि ॥  
नृसिंहगुप्तापरनामधेयः विद्यावदातो मुखलाभिधानः ।  
यं गेह (य) विद्याभिरयूयुजस्तः प्रयोगसिद्धिं कृतवान्महार्थोम् ॥

Since Abhinava refers to Bhatta Tauta in his *Abhinava Bharati* invariably as *Upadhyaya* only, one or two references to one *Acarya* available in the गेयधिकार may be taken to re-

By Dr. V. Raghavan

Continued from Bulletin No. 5

present reference to the interpretations of this music teacher Nrsimhagupta. Who is this Nrsimhagupta? He is Abhinava's own father. This we know from an anonymous commentary

on Abhinava's Saiva work called ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा-विमर्शिनी (R. No. 4353, p. 6399, Mad. Cat. Triennial, 1922-23 to 1924-25). *Vide* my article in the "Journal of Oriental Research", Madras, Vol. VI, part 2, on the writers quoted in the *Abhinava Bharati*.

## Kirtidhara

The other commentators on the *Natya Sastra* as given by Sarngadeva are Lollata, Udbhata, Sankuka and Kirtidhara. Though mentioned last in Sarngadeva's list, if it is a fact that his work was a regular commentary on the *Bharata Natya Sastra*, Kirtidhara was the first known commentator. Abhinava quotes him four times. The first reference is in Chap. 4, in the discussion on the difference between नृत्त and नाट्य (p. 208, Gaek. Ed.) The other three references to Kirtidharacarya are in the गेयधिकार, the music section of the *Natya Sastra*. The first of these occurs in the जात्यध्याय. (Vol. IV, p. 42). The next is found on p. 50, in the same volume. The last reference to him is on the group-dances to be performed in the *Purva Ranga*. Abhinava says here that he is going to give additional information from Nandikesvara, on the authority of Kirtidhara, who quotes Nandikesvara:

“यत् यत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) ।

दर्शितं तदन्या (स्मा) भिः न दृष्टं, तत्प्रत्ययास्तु लिख्यते ॥



Then Abhinava gives on pp. 51—54 large prose extracts from Nandikesvara as given by Kirtidhara.

The *Sangita Meru* of Kohala, in the extracts given by Kallinatha therefrom, quotes Kirtidhara, p. 677. So Kirtidhara is earlier than the *Sangita Meru*.<sup>1</sup>

#### Udbhata, Lollata and Sankuka

It is now accepted by all scholars that the great *Alankarika*, Udbhata, wrote a regular commentary on the *Natya Sastra*. Abhinava refers to his interpretations and views four times at distant intervals in his *Abhinava Bharati*. First, he refers to the followers of Udbhata in Chap. 6, on the *Natya Angas* (p. 265, Gaek. Ed.). Then in Chap. 9, (Vol. II, p. 307, Mad. MS.), Abhinava quotes Bhatta Udbhata on पताक. The third reference is on p. 472, Vol. II. The fourth reference to Udbhata is on p. 479, Vol. II, in the chapter on दशरूप. This reference shows that Udbhata recognised only three *Vrttis*, and even those three, of a different nature from *Kaisiki*, etc. There is another reference which does not mention him but presupposes him and his view of the *Vrttis*. (Vol. III, p. 4.)

Here in the first reference, as well as in the fourth, Abhinava first gives Udbhata's opinion and then Lollata's refutation of Udbhata's view. One of the two references to Udbhata in Rajasekhara's *Kavyamimamsa* also is of the same nature. Thus Udbhata was the earlier commentator and Lollata and Sankuka came afterwards. Udbhata was the Court poet of King Jayapida of Kashmir (778—813 A.D.).

As regards Bhatta Lollata and Sankuka, there is no doubt of the fact of their having written commentaries on the *Natya Sastra*, for, references to their interpretations of particular texts in Bharata are profuse all over the *Abhinava Bharati*. Lollata flourished about 825 A.D. and Sankuka a little later, about 850 A.D.

#### Sri Harsha's Varttika

Besides these direct commentaries, the *Natya Sastra* had two other commentaries, *Varttika* and *Tika*. Abhinavagupta quotes often Sri Harsha and his *Varttika* in the first six chapters. Altogether there are eight quotations from Sri Harsha's *Varttika*. The quotations are mostly in Arya verses and occasionally in prose also. Thus the *Varttika* was mainly

in Aryas and occasionally in prose. Saradatanaya in his *Bhavaprakasa* also refers to Harsha and his definition of the *Uparupaka* called *Totaka* (p. 238-1. 5). This Sri Harsha is not the Royal dramatist and patron of poet Bana, since in a reference in the गेयधिकार to the music verse of King Sri Harsha, found in two of his dramas, Abhinava does not refer to him as the *Varttikakara*. It is strange how Abhinava, who quotes Harsha so often in the first six chapters, never quotes him in the later chapters on dance and drama proper and music. Perhaps Sri Harsha's *Varttika* was available even to Abhinavagupta only in fragments at the beginning.

#### The Tikakara

The name of the author of the *Tika* on the *Natya Sastra* is not available. Beginning in the 22nd Chapter, there are seventeen references to him in the *Abhinava Bharati*, (mostly in the गेयधिकार).

Earlier also there are two references to him in Chapter VI. Abhinavagupta quotes him only to refute him. It appears that the Tikakara on the *Natya Sastra* blundered hopelessly in the गेयधिकार. All the seventeen references to him are those in which Abhinava completely ridicules him. From one of the references we see that the Tikakara quotes Kasyapa (Vol. IV, p. 2). The Tikakara finds some discrepancy between Bharata and Kasyapa which Abhinava removes. In one reference to the Tikakara, we find him quoting Sadasiva and there is mention of one श्रीपाद as the *Guru* of the Tikakara (p. 25, Vol. IV).

Besides these commentators on Bharata's work which dealt with dance and music, there are some more names also whom we may take as writers on *Natya* and music from Abhinavagupta's references.

#### Bhatta Sumanas

This writer is quoted in the 32nd Chapter, in the तालाध्याय (Vol. IV, p. 32). Since the reference occurs in the गेयधिकार, Bhatta Sumanas must be the author of some work on music. The reference given by Abhinavagupta is to his interpretation of a verse in Bharata. Perhaps he commented on Bharata, or only on the गेयधिकार in Bharata or had occasion to quote and interpret a verse from Bharata in an independent work of his.

<sup>1</sup>Kirtidhara is quoted often by Jayasenapati in his *Nritta—ratnavali* which I am editing now.

### Bhatta Vrddhi

This author also wrote some work on music. He is referred to in the तालाध्याय (p. 203, Vol. IV).

### Ghantaka

Poet Ghantaka is quoted by Abhinavagupta, but only on a topic in dramaturgy. If, however, poet Ghantaka also was a commentator on Bharata, it follows that he was a writer on music as well.

### Sakaligarbha

From Abhinava Bharati (Vol. II, p. 480), we come to know of a new writer on *Nṭya* named Sakali Garbha? He has a curious view of five *Vṛttis* in dramas. His work on *Nṭya* might have dealt with music also—undoubtedly so, if he is a commentator on Bharata.

### Rahula

Rahula is an early writer on music. Sarngadeva mentions him among his authorities as Rahala.

स्वातिर्गुणो विन्दुराजः क्षेत्रसजश्च राहुलः ।

Abhinava quotes him thrice, first on the difference between *Nṭya* and *Nṛtta* in Chap. 4, p. 172 (Gaek. ed.), then on p. 197 of the same edition and then in the 23rd Chap. on वैशिक, p. 38, Vol. III, Mad. Ms. The third reference is reproduced in Abhinava's faithful follower, Hemachandra's *Alankara* work, *Kavyanusasana*.

शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु—मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलंकारानाचक्षते तैस्माभिर्भरतमतानुसारिभिः उपेक्षिताः ।

Hemachandra, K.A., N.S. ed., p. 316.

तेन मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्व परितपनादीनामपि गत्यादूराक्याचार्य-राहुलादिभिरभिधानं विरुद्धमित्यलं बहुना ।

Abhi. Bhar.

The context is सामान्याभिनय and the *Alankaras* of women भाव, हाव etc. Abhinava criticises Rahula for holding मौग्ध्य, मद etc. also to be *Alankaras*. In the reference given above, Abhinava, in the text in Madras Ms. refers to Rahula as गत्याचार्य. It is likely that it is a scribal error for शाक्याचार्य, since we find it so in Hemachandra, who is always very useful in deciding the text of Abhinava's works. He was a Buddhist. We had among Buddhists many such writers on such secular subjects. One Padmasri is known to us as a Buddhist

monk who has written the pornography work, called *Nagara Sarvasva*, from which we learn, in addition to what we know from the second reference to Rahula, that the Buddhist *Sampradaya* on topics of *Alankara*, etc. had their own deviations and peculiarities. Thus Rahula either commented on the *Nṭya Sastra* or wrote a big treatise on dance, drama and music, like the *Nṭya Sastra*.

### Bhatta Yatra

There is only one reference to Bhatta Yantra in the *Abhinava Bharati* and that too only on dance. It is in chapter 4, p. 208, (Gaek. ed.), on the difference between *Nṭya* and *Nṛtta*. If he is a commentator on Bharata, to decide which sufficient evidence is not available, we have in him a writer on music also.

### Rudrata

Sarngadeva mentions Rudrata as a Sangita Acarya:

रुद्रटो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।

Confirmation of his having written a work on music comes from a reference to him by Abhinavagupta. Abhinava criticises Rudrata as having written without understanding Bharata:

रुद्रका (टा) दिभिस्तु एतमर्थं बु (अबु) ध्यमानैः उक्तानां श्लोकपाठविप्रलब्धैः सर्वत्रैव अष्टकलस्य उक्तः

p. 160 Vol. IV.

This Rudrata is the *Alankarika*, author of the *Kavyalankara*, whom some scholars identify with Rudra or Rudra Bhatta, author of another *Alankara* work called *Srngaratilaka*. Rudrata is placed in the 9th century. He is thus a contemporary of King Avantivarman of Kashmir and the great *Alankarika* Anandavardhana. Rudrata is quoted by Kallinatha, once independently and, again, as being quoted by Matanga.

यथा यावत् षड्जमेव तारगतिः मध्यमस्याप्यत्र संवादित्वात् अनाशित्वात् तारगतीरु द्रष्टेन कृता मध्यमस्येति मतंगोक्तम् ।

S.R. p.82

Mr. R. Kavi, as usual, without evidence or authority, postulates the identity of this Rudrata with Medhavi Rudra, another writer on *Alankara*, which is wrong, and again both of them with Rudracarya, protege of King Mahendra Vikrama Pallava and author connec-

ted with the Kudumiyamalai music inscription. This triple equation is absolutely baseless.

### Bhatta Gopala

Abhinava refers to this writer on music twice. He first quotes him and his तालदीपिका in Chap. 12, on p. 332, Vol. II, along with Bhatta Lollata. He promises here to come to the topic of ध्रुवाताल in the तालाध्याय and accordingly, in the तालाध्याय, he again quotes Bhatta Gopala, who, he says, has refuted at length in his *Tala Dipika* the ध्रुवातालविधि of his predecessors.

“अत एवेतदनुसारेण भट्टलोत्तलटगोपालादि भंग सर्वभंग स चे (?) तालदीपिकादौ चिरन्तनसंमतो ध्रुवातालानां विनियोगः प्रपन्नतो दूषितः । तत्तु ध्रुवाध्याये विचारविषयामः इत्यास्ताम्”

Vol. II. p. 382.

“यथाहि भट्टगोपालः स्वाभिप्रायेण ध्रुवके विधिरिति ।”

Vol. II. p. 181.

### Matrgupta

Matrgupta is referred to by many writers and his *Anustubh* verses on subjects of *Natya* are found quoted in Ranganatha Diksita's commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya*, Raghava Bhatta's commentary on the *Sakuntala*, etc. His work should have been in *Anustubhs*, modelled after the *Bharata Natya Sastra* treating of music also. For the reference in *Abhinava Bharati* to Bhatta Matrgupta is in the तालाध्याय, (p. 32, Vol. IV.):

तथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

“गुणं च जनयत्येको श्रूयोऽनुस्पर्शान्वितः ।”

Sarngadeva mentions him as a Sangitacarya:

आजनेयो मातृगुप्तो रावणो नन्दिकेश्वरः ।

The reference in Narada's *Sangita Makaranda*, p. 13, to one Matragupta is evidently only to Matrgupta.

Matrgupta lived in King Sri Harsa's time, 607-647 A.D. He was a great poet and was later made king of Kashmir.

### Priyatithi

This is a very new name in *Natya* literature, which we are given by the *Abhinava Bharati*. It quotes this writer on *Natya* on the subject of *Saindhava*, one of the ten *Lasyangas*:

“प्रियातिथिप्रभृतिः (तिभिः) मुनिमतोपेक्ष्यैव लक्षणं (सं) उदाहरणं च कृतं न चोक्तं युक्त्या तेन किञ्चित्, इत्यसदेव ।”

p. 537, Vol. II

Priyatithi wrote against Bharata's view and Abhinava criticises him for this.

### King Bhoja

About the time of Abhinavagupta the Paramara King Bhoja ruled at Dhara (A.D. 1010-1055). He was a patron of arts and prolific writer. Bhoja's literary period was a little later than that of Abhinava. Sarngadeva mentions Bhoja in his list and Saradatanaya quotes him often in music also along with Somesvara. We can believe that King Bhoja, master of all arts and sciences, wrote on *Sangita* also but we want evidence for accepting Mr. R. Kavi's calm assertion that Bhoja's *Sangita* work was called संगीत-प्रकाश, which name is only a fancy, built on analogy the of the name of Bhoja's great *Alankara* work called *Sringara Prakasa*. Parsvadeva says that Bhoja gave the technical terms music in the *Bhandika* vernacular in his work on music.

### Somesvara

परमर्दी च सोमेशः जगदेकमहीपतिः ।

This reference in Sarngadeva gives Somes, Paramardi and Jagadelcamhipati as Sangitacaryas. Saradatanaya in his *Bhavaprakasa* refers to Somesvara along with Bhoja twice. Saradatanaya says that he is not elaborating music since it has been already dealt with by Somesvara and others. The *Sangita Samaya Sara* of Parsvadeva quotes him with Dattila, as having dealt with *Tala*, and with Bhoja as having given the technical terms of music in the *Bhandika Bhasa*. This *Bhandika Bhasa* is a vernacular and very highly musical are and a grammar of it is available in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library. In that grammar, a beautiful story of the origin of that vernacular is given. It is said that when Krishna danced the *Rasa*, along with the Gopis from all parts of India, and when each sang in her own tongue, there arose, in that beautiful medley of tongues, the very musical language of the *Bhandika*.

Who is this Somesvara who is cited as an authority on music? The Editor of the *Bhavaprakasa* in the Gaekwad series, Mr. K.S. Ramaswamy Sastrigal, discusses this question. In *Sangita* we know of two Somesvaras. One is the Calukya King Somesvara III, who composed an encyclopaedic work called *Manasollasa* or the *Abhilasitartha Cintamani*, in the year 1131 A.D. This big work, part of which has been published from Mysore and Baroda, is said to contain a very big section on music. This



portion, when published, will light up our field very much. It is very likely that it is this Somesvara whom Sarngadeva and others mention.

Another Somesvara is known as the author of a music work called *Sangita Ratnavali*. Some identify Sarngadeva's Somesvara with this Somesvara.

#### Bhatta Soma Carana

But all are agreed that Somesvara was a King and Kshatriya. If so, we had another writer on music called Soma or Bhatta Soma Carana, a Brahmin. The learned Ranganatha Diksita, in his commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya*, Act. IV, quotes him after quoting Matanga, on the जन्मक or the जन्मलिका गीति, (p. 89, Nirnaya Sagar Edition).

#### King Paramardi

This word is taken by some as an attribute of the above-mentioned King Somesvara, परमर्दी च सोमेशो जगदेकमहीपतिः । Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri takes Paramardi as a separate name, as a different writer on music, identifiable with a king of that name of the Candel dynasty, a scholar and patron, who reigned between 1165-1203 A.D. This latter view is the justifiable one Parsvadeva in his *Sangita Samaya Sara* (on p. 24, Tri. Edn.) quotes King Paramardi, in the प्रबन्धाध्याय, i.e., Chapter 4.

“स्वयं यत्र प्रबन्धे स्यात् अनेनैव प्रपूरणम् ।

आभोगः कथितस्तेन परमर्दिमहीभुजा ॥” SI. 6.

Nothing more is known of King Paramardi or his work on music.

#### Nanya Bhupala

Through the kindness of my professor, I got the manuscript of the work of Nanyadeva from the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. The work is incomplete and is generally called in the colophons *Bharata Bhasya*. But two of the colophons style it as *Bharata Varttika*. The work quotes Narada's *Siksha* and the author of the विवरण टीका on the नारदीय-शिक्षा, *Sikshas*, of Panini and Apisali, Bharata, Matanga and his *Brhadhesi*, Tumburu, Kasyapa and Brhat Kasyapa, Visakhila, Yashtika, Dattila and Abhinavagupta. Two names among the writers quoted must be noted. They are sages आस्तिक and द्धत्रक, of whom we do not hear elsewhere. References to these two are on p. 64a. *The Kalika Purana* is referred to by Nanyadeva

on page 132a, as containing the treatment of the *gita* called गोविन्दकम.

The colophon has sometimes this suggestive word—‘वाचिकारो’. From this we come to know that Nanyadeva's work is very big and divided into four sections according to the four *Abhinayas*—वाचिक, आंगिक, सात्विक and आहार्य. The first section—*Amsa*—called वाचिक, deals with *Sangita*. The portion dealing with music alone is available in the manuscript above referred to and even this runs to 221 sheets.

Nanyadeva, as one mentioned by Sarngadeva, is earlier to Sarngadeva. Nanyadeva was king of Mithila. He calls himself by the name मिथिलेश्वर and महासामन्ताधिपति. He has another name also—Rajanarayana.

“एवं द्वाविंशति (मि) ताः श्रुतयः परिकीर्तिताः ।

राजनारायणेनेह श्रीमन्नान्यनभूमजा ॥”

p. 12a.

His work called *Bharata Bhasya* and *Bharata Varttika* has another name—*Sarasvati Hrdya Bhusana* or *Sarasvati Hrdyalankara* or *Saraswati Hrdya Alankara Hara*, as described in the different colophons.

#### Bindu Raja and Ksetra Raja

Of these two authorities enumerated by Sarngadeva, we have no further knowledge. Both look like historical personages. Kohala, as quoted by Kallinatha, quotes one क्षेमराज on the कर्त्तव्यतन called स्वस्तिकत्रिकोण on p. 688. If Ksetra Raja is the same as this Ksemaraja we may take him as a writer earlier than the *Sangita Meru*.

#### Lohita Bhattaka and Sumantu

These are two more writers quoted in the *Sangita Meru*. They are certainly historical from what we see by their names, but further light on these two is no yet available. We know of Sumantu who was a sage, who is mentioned in the *Maha Bharata* and *Asvalayana* as one of the five भारताचार्य, not भरताचार्य. He was one of those who edited the *Maha Bharata* after Vyasa. He is mentioned thus—

सुमन्तुं जैमिनिं पैलं शुक्रं चैव स्वमात्मजम् ।

वेदानध्यापयामास महाभारतपंचमान् ॥

संहितास्तैः पृथक्त्वेव भारतस्य प्रकीर्तिताः ।

### Saradatanaya

Now let us come to the third source of information, the *Bhavaprakasa* of Saradatanaya, a work on dramaturgy ascribed to the period 1175-1250 A.D.

Saradatanaya, if the above given date is correct, was living in Sarngadeva's time. Saradatanaya was, as his name shows, born of the grace of Sarasvati. In the 7th Chapter of his *Bhavaprakasa* he takes up *Sangita* and after elaborately telling us of the physiological process of नादोत्पत्ति, just touches music and leaves it saying that he need not deal with it further, since Bhoja, Somesvara and others have treated of it. From this same reference in Chap. 7, we learn that Saradatanaya himself produced a companion work, certainly earlier, on music called *Saradiya*.

“मयापि शारद्वीयाख्ये प्रबन्धे सुष्ठु दर्शितं ।”

p. 194.

Further, Saradatanaya refers to many other works and authors on *Natya* and music. The following are noteworthy since they are not referred to elsewhere : द्रौहिणी, गान्धर्वनिर्णय and वासुकि.

### Gandharva Nirnaya

The गान्धर्वनिर्णय is a work on music, treating of *Natya* also by the way. Saradatanaya refers to it on p. 266 in Chapter 9, in the description of the minor *Rupaka* variety known as उल्लोप्यक, which is a गीतप्रबन्ध, an operatic composition:

‘यस्मिन्नुल्लोप्यकं नाम त्र्यंगं गीतं प्रवर्तते ।

तल्लक्षणं च गान्धर्वनिर्णये स्पष्टमीरितं ॥’

The author of the *Gandharva Nirnaya* is not known.

### Drauhini

The quotation in the *Bhavaprakasa* in the name of *Drauhini*, on page 239, line 1., is on *Vrittis* and *Nataka*:

‘सात्त्वतीवृत्तिरत्र स्यात् इति: द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ।’

From this reference we can take him to be an author on drama only. But Rajasekhara in his *Kavyamimamsa* quotes him twice and from the first quotation there, we can surely make out *Drauhini* as an author of some music

work. This reference makes *Drauhini* praise music as the 5th Veda.

“वेदोपवेदात्मा सार्ववर्षिकः पंचमो गेयवेदः इति द्रौहिणिः ।”

K.M.p. 2 Gaek Ed.

Thus *Drauhini*'s work, like works of the early period, comprehensively dealt with *Sangita* proper, with its three departments. It is also likely that *Drauhini* is only *Druhina*'s son, i.e., *Narada*.

### Vasuki

Vasuki is a mythological name. Vasuki is quoted twice by Saradatanaya. He is earlier to the *Bharata Natya Sastra*, if we rely upon a verse attributed to him by Saradatanaya, which is found quoted by Bharata. Vasuki is not enumerated by Sarngadeva or *Narada* nor is he quoted elsewhere. *Narada*'s list however contains a name व्याल, which, if it is taken in the meaning ‘snake’, may refer to Vasuki, but this is quite far-fetched.

### Kalpavalli and Yogamala

The *Kalpavalli* or *Kalpalata* and the *Yoga Mala Samhita* quoted by Sarngadeva are definitely works on *Natya* but probably these two devoted some of their chapters to the *Samana tantra* (allied science) music also. The *Yogamala Samhita* seems to be in the form of a dialogue in which Siva teaches *Natya*, etc., to Vivasvan i.e., Surya. Surya seems to have some part in the history of *Natya* and *Sangita*.

### Vyasa and Agastya

Saradatanaya mentions at the beginning of his work that he studied and learnt the schools of the following writers on *Natya*—Sadasiva, Siva, Parvati, Gauri, Vasuki, Sarasvati, *Narada*, Kumbhodbhava, i.e., Agastya, Vyasa, Bharata's pupils, and Anjaneya. Of these we have already dealt with *Narada*, Vasuki and Anjaneya. How Sadasiva and Siva, and Parvati and Gauri are separate and different we are not able to understand. Vyasa is quoted now and then by Saradatanaya. There are two possibilities. Some of the *Puranas* of which Vyasa is the general author contain chapters on music. Opinions quoted as Vyasa's may refer to opinions contained there. But such references are not traceable to the *Sangita* text in the *Puranas*. The story of the origin of *Natya* which Saradatanaya attributes to Vyasa, the exact number of acts in उत्सृष्टिकांक according to Vyasa referred to by Saradatanaya, are not

traceable to the known *Puranas* which deal with drama and music. The other possibility is that there was some work on *Natya* current as Vyasa's. Anyway Vyasa is not a mere name, since Saradatanaya attributes to him two definite opinions on pp. 55 and 251. The name of Agastya does not seem to appear anywhere else. As a matter of fact, in literature, Agastya is a rare name in Sanskrit. It is only in Tamil that he is the eponymous father of all literature. Saradatanaya, as the editor of his work suggests, was thus possibly a South Indian. But in the body of the *Bhava Prakasa* itself, no quotation from Agastya is found.

### Parsvadeva

The *Sangita Samaya Sara* of Parsvadeva published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series is mainly a work on music, but it treats of dance also in Chapter six. Parsvadeva, as his name indicates, was a Jain. He and his father were great scholars of the *Natya Sastra*. The upper limit of his date is easily fixed. He quotes these authors:

1. King Bhoja. 2. King Somesvara.
3. King Paramardi. 4. King Pratapa. 5. Digambara.
6. Matanga. 7. Sage Bharata and 8. Dattila.

Of these, the references to Kings Bhoja, Somesvara and Paramardi are valuable and they fix the upper limit to Parsvadeva's time. King Bhoja ruled between 1010 and 1055 A.D. Paramardi flourished about 1165 A.D. and Somesvara about 1131 A.D. Parsvadeva is thus later than the 12th century. Sarngadeva does not refer to Parsvadeva. Singa Bhupala (about 1330 A.D.) quotes him often in his commentary on the *Sangita Ratnakara*. Thus his date falls between 1165 and 1330 A.D.

The manuscript of the *Sangita Samaya Sara* in the Madras Mss. Library (No. 13028) gives much information about the author Parsvadeva. Parsvadeva was the son of Gauri and Adideva and disciple of one महादेवार्थ, who was himself the pupil of उमचन्द्र. The *paramaguru* was thus a Jain and born of Brahmin parents. Parsvadeva was a convert to Jainism. Parsvadeva mentions in the beginning that he consulted the following authorities: सोमेश्वर, तुंबुरु, भोज, मतंग, काश्यप, दत्तिल, कोहल and हनुमान्. Parsvadeva gives the name of his family as श्रीकण्ठान्वय. The colophons mention the names of his *guru* and *paramaguru* and the titles of Parsvadeva.

In the first verse in Chapter I, Parsvadeva says that he is going to follow Bhoja and Somesvara in giving the technical names of music in the *Bhandika Bhasa*:

भाण्डीकभाषयोद्दिष्टाः भोजसोमेश्वरादिभिः ।

गेयलक्षणतः केचित् वक्ष्यन्ते लक्ष्यसंभवाः ॥

S.S.S. II. 1.

We know of certain new writers for the first time from Parsvadeva.

### King Pratapa

King Pratapa is quoted on p. 29:

पञ्चतालेश्वरो यद्वा हृद्यं गद्यमथापि वा ।

आलिक्रमोऽयमेवोक्तः प्रतापपृथिवीमुजा ॥

Though Pratapa and Vikrama are synonymous, it is vain to identify this Pratapa with the Vikrama quoted in the *Sangita Makaranda*. See, below, separate note on king pratapa's *Sangita chudamani*.

### Digambara

Parsvadeva refers to Digambara or Digambara Suri thrice in the chapter on dance. The third reference is reverentially in plural. Evidently Digambara Suri is a Jain and most probably a teacher of Parsvadeva. The three references are these—

1. On the three kinds of सन्दर्श, a नृत्तहस्त—

सन्दर्शः त्रिप्रकारः स्यात् पार्श्वजो मुखजोऽग्रजः ।

इत्यनेकप्रयोगेषु दिगम्बरमतोदितः ॥ p. 60.

2. केशवबन्धकरौ प्रोक्तौ तौ दिगम्बरसूरिणा ।

उत्तानावचितौ किञ्चित् पार्श्वगौ त्रिपताकरौ ॥

p. 63. Sl. 89.

3. हंसपन्नकरौ दण्डपन्नावुक्तौ दिगम्बरैः ।

p. 63 Sl. 93.

Thus not only in philosophy and poetics, but in such subjects as drama, dance, music and pornography, also the Buddhist and Jain contributions to Sanskrit literature are immense.

### Sankara

Parsvadeva quotes Sankara in the वाद्यध्याय i.e. the fifth, p. 42:

सकलं निष्कलं चेति वाद्यमेतत् द्विधा भवेत् ।

कथितं शंकरेणैदं एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥



It may be that this Sankara is a historical writer on music, or only God Siva.

### The Puranas and Music

As remarked above, references to Vyasa may refer to chapters on music in some of the *Puranas*. The *Puranas* that contain chapters on music are—the *Visnudharmottara*, the *Vayu* and the *Markandeya*.

### The Markandeya

Of these the *Markandeya* does not regularly treat of music. In Chapter 21, it gives the story of Asvatara, the king of the serpents. He did penance and requested Sarasvati to give him his brother Kambala and to impart to him and his brother the music lore. Sarasvati did so. Asvatara and Kambala propitiated Siva with this music. Here, incidentally, in mentioning Sarasvati's boon, the to picsin music learnt by the two Naga brothers are summarily given:

सप्तस्वराः ग्रामरागाः सप्त पन्नगसत्तम ।  
गीतकानि च सप्तैव तावत्तुश्चापि मूर्च्छनाः ॥  
तानाश्चैकोनपञ्चाशत् तथा ग्रामत्रयं च यत् ।  
एतत्सर्वं नवान् वेत्ता कम्बलश्चैव ते ऽनय ॥

\* \* \*  
चतुर्विधं परं तालं त्रिप्रकारं लयत्रयम् ।  
गीतत्रयं तथा कालं मया दत्तं चतुर्विधम् ॥  
\* \* \*  
अस्यान्तर्गतमायुतं स्वरव्यञ्जनयोश्च यत् ।  
तदशेषं मया दत्तं भवतः कम्बलस्य च ॥

Sls. 52—56.

### The Vayupurana

In the second *Khanda* of the *Vayupurana*, Chapter 24, latter half, and Chapter 25 deal with music. The former speaks of seven *Svaras*, three *Gramas* and the *Ragas* belonging to each *Gram*—twenty in मध्यमग्राम, fourteen in षड्जग्राम, and fifteen in गान्धारग्राम, the etymology, *devata* and description of each *Raga*, and मूर्च्छना. The 25th Chapter is devoted to thirty *Gita Alankaras*.

### The Visnudharmottara

The third *Khanda* of the *Visnudharmottara* contains a big art supplement treating of grammar, lexicography, prosody, poetics, drama-turgy, dance, *Sangita* and painting. Chapters 18 and 19 here deal with music. In the beginning the matter corresponds to that in the *Vayupurana*, though in the *Visnudharmottara* it is all in *Sutra* like prose. The following are dealt with—

*Svaras*, *Gramas* and the *Ragas* of each of the three *Gramas*, three *Vrttis*, वादि, संवादि, and अनुवादि, nine *Rasas* and the *Svaras* for each *Rasa*, the three *Layas* and the *Laya* for each *Rasa*, ten *Jatis*, four *Alankaras* प्रसन्नादि, प्रसन्नान्त, प्रसन्नाद्यन्त, and प्रसन्नमध्य, and the several kinds of songs, viz, अवरान्तक, उल्लोप्य, मन्द्रक, मकरी, उवेणक, सरोबिन्दु, ऋग्गाथा, पाणिक्ता, दक्षविहता and ब्रह्मगीतिका.

Here this chapter called गीतलक्षण ends. The next chapter dealing with music is devoted to आतोद्य, instruments.

# LATER SANGITA LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

By

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

**I**N an earlier paper, I surveyed the Sanskrit Sangita literature from Bharata up to Sarngadeva. In this paper, I propose to follow up the subject and speak of the literature from the time of Sarngadeva up to recent or modern times. The sources of information for this account of mine of later Sangita literature, are mainly three. Firstly, the catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts, of libraries of India and of foreign countries, which contain lists and brief descriptions of music works and of their authors. Part of the material set forth by me is from personal examination of Sanskrit music manuscripts in libraries to which I could have access, the libraries at Tanjore, Madras and Adyar; I went through completely all the music manuscripts in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, the Adyar Library and the Sarasvati

Mahal Library, Tanjore. When I visited Poona, I read the music manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute Manuscripts Library. As regards the works described in other catalogues, I could naturally have no access to them and their descriptions are therefore meagre and derived only from the descriptive catalogues but supplemented or corrected in some cases by a reference to the descriptions of the same works in other catalogues; sometimes I had occasion to borrow or secure transcripts of some of these manuscripts and examine them. The second source of information is the un-published music manuscripts and works themselves which I had examined. While I was going through the music manuscripts in the Madras, Adyar, Tanjore and Poona libraries, as also those borrowed from some of the other libraries, I came across a

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1. Published originally in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy, Volume IV, 1932, this paper has been, for the purpose of the present publication, revised completely and made up to date. Some of the libraries had not at that time, in 1932, brought out their catalogues carrying descriptions of these music mss., but these catalogues have since been, in some cases, published. Also some of the works described here were still in manuscript in 1932 when this paper was originally written and as these too have since been printed, the account given of these has suitably been revised. In this connection, my more recent papers "Music in the Deccan and South India" in the Bihar Theatre, No. 7, 1956, pp. 5-31, and "An Outline Literary History of Indian Music" in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy, XXIII, 64-74 may also be consulted.

Since writing this, I have visited a great many mss. libraries and noted a number of other authors and works on music and dance, but of these, I can write only in a separate paper.



number of writers and works quoted in each of those works; this provided a considerable number of music authors and works. Thirdly, the commentaries on the Sanskrit dramas and *Alankara* works have also furnished a certain amount of data on music authors and works; e.g. the commentary of Raghavabhatta on *Sakuntala*, of Katayavema on the *Sakuntala* and the *Malavikagnimitra*, of Ranganatha on the *Vikramorvasiya*, of *Kumarasvamin* on the *Alankara* text called *Prataparudriya* have quoted some music works which have also been gathered here.

I have tried, as far as possible, to determine the dates of the works and authors. In certain cases, however, I could give only the century in which the work was written and in some other cases, only the upper and lower limits of the dates of the works. I have arranged the works in the order of their dates. A more interesting classified arrangement could be made. Works have been produced in a group or in succession, in parts of North India, in Orissa, in Andhra and at Tanjore, under kings or succession of kings who have been patrons of the arts of music and dance. While these facts are mentioned then and there, I have not arranged the works in such a geographical or dynastic manner. Closely related to the geographical classification is another, which may be held very necessary. It is the division of all these works into older ones dealing with the common music of India, and later ones, again sub-divided into works of the Hindustani and Carnatic schools. This is surely shown then and there but I have not made a classification on this principle.

I have first treated of regular and major works, then given those works of which the dates are not known or which are like handbooks, and finally, I have appended a list of fragments and tracts. In this collection are some works the names of whose authors are not known and some authors, the names of whose works are yet to be traced. The works noticed are of varied nature. There are some which completely deal with Sangita, i.e. of Gita, Vadya and Nrtya. There are some which omit the last and certain others which omit Vadya also. Among works dealing with Gita only, there are works treating of Ragas alone. I have also noticed works on one single branch like Tala and on one Vadya, as for instance Mrdanga only. A few modern Sanskrit music works are also noticed to give a completeness to this account of later Sangita literature.

The regular works here noticed number about 120.

### Sangitaratnakara of Sarngadeva

(1210-1247 A.D.)

The *Sangita Ratnakara* of Sarngadeva is the most well-known Sanskrit Sangita treatise and its place in Sangita literature resembles that of the *Kavya Prakasa* of Mammata in *Alankara* literature. The work is not original but is the only standard work known for long and largely drawn upon and borrowed by all later writers for whom it set the model. Hence also its similarity to the *Kavyaprakasa*. The work is edited in the Anandasrama Sanskrit Series in two volumes with the commentary of Chatura Kallinatha. The Adyar Library has brought out an edition of it with the commentaries of Kallinatha and Singabhupala.

Sarngadeva belongs to a Kashmirian stock. His genealogy is thus given by himself. His grandfather was one Bhaskara who migrated to the South from Kashmir and his father was Soddhala who attached himself to the court of King Singhana Deva of Devagiri, modern Daulatabad, who ruled from 1210-1247 A.D. Thus Sarngadeva flourished in the first half of the 13th century. Sarngadeva himself was employed under the king in the office of the Royal Accountant, for he refers to himself often by the title 'Sri-karana-agrani'.

A number of earlier authorities are referred to by Sarngadeva. At the beginning of his work a list of them is given and in the body of the text also many are quoted. Sarngadeva is versed in all branches of learning. From the *Sangita Ratnakara* itself, we learn that Sarngadeva wrote a Vedantic work called *Adhyatma Viveka*. In music and Natya Sastra, Sarngadeva is very learned. He bases himself especially in the last chapter on Nartana on Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata. Many verses here simply put Abhinavagupta's words in verse-form. Sarngadeva refers to himself often by the title *Nissanka*—"the doubtless", meaning thereby that his scholarship in music is thorough. He invented a Vina with his name 'Nissanka', as also a Prabandha and two Talas named after himself as *Nissanka* and *Sarngadeva*.

### Commentaries

The importance of the work is also known from the many commentaries upon it. Next

perhaps to Bharata's *Natya Sastra*, it is the only music work on which other music scholars have written commentaries. The best commentary seems to be that of Chatura Kallinatha, called the *Kalanidhi*, which, by virtue of its prevalence and popularity, was very early published along with the text in the Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.

Another commentary is by King Simhabhupala, a well-known Alankarika and author of the *Rasarnavasudhakara*. Of this valuable work, only the portion on the Svaradhayaya had formerly been available in print, having been published from Calcutta in 1879. Even copies of this printed portion were rare. More recently a revised and complete edition of this commentary, along with that of Kallinatha, has been published by the Adyar Library. Though Simhabhupala's commentary is not as valuable as that of Kallinatha, yet it has several important features, not the least noteworthy of which are the quotations it makes from old and rare works, e.g. the commentary on Dattila called *Prayogastabaka*. Simhabhupala, it is well-known, was a King of the Recharla Dynasty of Nayudu kings of Rajachala in Andhra country and flourished in the middle of the 14th century A.D. The recent effort therefore to take him to Mithila or to the line of the Maithila Rulers of Nepal<sup>1</sup> is meaningless.

Oppert notices another commentary on this work in Vol. I of his catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in South India—No. 6258. The commentary is called *Sangitaratnakarachandrika*. The author of this *Chandrika* on the *Ratnakara* is not known.

There seems to be another commentary by a writer named Kesava. We know of its existence from Govinda Dikshita's *Sangita Sudha*. The *Sangita Sudha* says:—

श्रीशारंगदेवेन कृतां च सप्ता-

ध्यायीं तथा लक्ष्मविरोधिलक्ष्याम् ।

अबोधकात्यल्पदावबोध-

मुद्दिष्टरागानुदितस्वरूपम् ॥१४७॥

एनां स्फुटीकर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तौ

यो ब्राह्मणो केशवकल्लिनाथौ ।

टीकाद्वयेनापि कृतेन ताम्ब्या-

मबोधितास्पष्टपदावबोधम् ॥१४८॥

p. 152 Madras Music  
Academy Edition

The *Sangita Sudha* passes vehement strictures about the usefulness of the *Ratnakara* which it says, contradicts, makes no sense and is insufficient. Similar caustic remarks are also passed by Govinda Dikshita on the commentaries of Kallinatha and the commentator called Kesava mentioned above.

The Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Gujarat, Kathiawad, Kachch, Sindh and Khandes, describes on p. 274, a commentary on the *Ratnakara* by Hamsabhupala, which is evidently a mistake for Simhabhupala, who has already been mentioned. This mistake is repeated in the introduction to the Anandasrama edition of the *Ratnakara*, where we find Hamsabhupala counted as a separate and additional commentator.

The Bikaner Catalogue has entered, wrongly, as another new commentary, only an unidentified fragment of Kallinatha's *Kalanidhi*.

Besides the Sanskrit commentaries above noticed, there is a commentary on the *Ratnakara* in Hindi called *Setu* by Gangarama, a good manuscript of which is available in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, (6598 a). Gangarama was patronised by the Vaghela ruler Visvanathasimha in whose court there was intense musical activity.<sup>1</sup> Visvanatha Sinha's time is 1833-54.

In Tamil, we, have a metrical version of the *Sangita Ratnakara* and a part of it is available in Tanjore Library, (No. 634 b). This Tamil version of the *Ratnakara* is also quoted in another half-Sanskrit and half-Tamil *Natya* work of a very late date called in two manuscripts of it *Suddhananda Prakasam*, but which has recently been printed under the title *Bharata-siddhanta* by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. See pp. 114-5 for quotations here from the Tamil version of the *Sangita Ratnakara*.

The place occupied by Sarngadeva and his work are known not only by the above-noted commentaries in Sanskrit and Hindi and the translations in regional languages but also by the fact that up to the 18th century all music works reproduced or paraphrased the *Ratnakara* for their earlier part dealing with ancient music.

1. See "Sanskrit and Hindi Works of Vishvanatha Simha" by P. K. Gode, 'New India Antiquary, IX'. pp. 1-12.

1. *Journal of Indian History*, XXXVI.iii. pp. 432-3.

**Ragarnava**  
(Earlier than 1330 A.D.)

There is a work of this name quoted by Somanatha in his *Ragavibodha* and by Damodara in his *Darpana*. Its author is not known. I have not come across this in any manuscript catalogue.

As will be seen in the course of this paper, the *Ragarnava* is used for the compilation of a small section on music by Sarngadhara in his anthology called the *Sarngadhara Paddhati*. This anthology is a production of the first half of the 14th century. Its compiler Sarngadhara is taken as the grandson of one of the preceptors of King Hammira, who as we will presently see, was the Chowhan King of Mewar and author of a music work called *Sangita Sringara Hara*. The date of Hammira is, 1283 A. D. (Vide Introduction to the Gaekwad Oriental Series edition of Ramacharita, p.8, by Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri). Therefore the *Ragarnava* is earlier than 1330 A.D.

The *Ragarnava*, though often quoted independently as a separate work of that name, occurs also as the name of the chapter on Ragas in Nandikesvara's big work, *Bharatarnava*, dealing with dance and music completely. All the chapters of the *Bharatarnava* are called by the name of 'Arnava' and the manuscript of the *Bharatarnava* of Nandikesvara in the Tanjore library calls its Natya chapter by the name *Natyarnava*.

**Sangitarnava**

Besides the above said *Ragarnava*, there is a separate and independent work dealing with music and dance called *Sangitarnava*. This work is quoted in the *Sangitadarpana* of Damodara and on a topic of dance by Appalacharya in his *Sangita Sangraha Chintamani*. (Adyar Library manuscript). Narayana Sivayogin's *Natya Sarvasva Dipika* also quotes this work. (p. 34, Ms. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona).

**Sangita Sringara Hara of King Hammira**  
(1283 A.D.)

Among the numerous works quoted by the well-known music writer Bhava Bhatta, we have one called *Sringara Hara* or *Sangita Sringara Hara*. A Ms. of this work is described in S. R.

Bhandarkar's report of Ms. in Rajputana and Central India (pp. 54 and 92-93):

शृंगारहाराख्यममुं प्रबन्धं  
करोति हम्मीरमहीमहेन्द्रः ।

We hear of three Hammiras, one of whom is a Mohammedan king. Leaving him, we have Hammira, a Chowhan King of Mewar, mentioned by his son Allaraja *alias* Mallaraja, in his *Alankara* treatise called *Rasaratnadipika*. This Hammira is a man of letters and is celebrated in the *Hammiramahakavya* of Nayachandrasuri. Nayachandrasuri gives Samvat 1339 or A.D. 1283 as the date of the beginning of reign of his hero Hammira.

In the list of kings of Mewar itself, we come across a Hammira who is mentioned by King Kumbhakarna of Mewar, as the grandfather of his grandfather, in the beginning of his commentary *Rasikapriya* on the *Gitagovinda*. Kumbha reigned from 1433 to 1468. In the Rajputana Gazetteers, Vol. 2 A., Mewar Residency, this Hammira is assigned to A.D. 1364 and this fact, as also the fact that his son and successor, according to this Gazetteer as well as the genealogy given by Kumbha, is not Allaraja but is Khet Singh or Kshetra Simha makes it impossible for us to identify the two Hammiras. Perhaps it is this ancestor of Kumbha that wrote the *Sangita Sringara Hara*.

The following writers are referred to by Hammira :—

(1) *Jaitrasimhanarapati* : Of this royal writer on music we know nothing more. In the lists of this same dynasty of the Guhilots of Mewar, to which Hammira and Kumbha belong, there is a king named Jaitrasimha whose time is 1213 A.D. (Vide p. 153. Vaidya's *Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. 3, P. 153).

(2) One *Vikrama* is mentioned and he may be identical with the *Vikrama* found in the list of music authorities given by the *Sangita Makaranda*.

(3) *Simhana* : This King may be Simhana I, of the latter part of the 11th, and the commencement of the 12th centuries or Simhana II, 1209-1247 A.D. Both of them are Yadava Kings of Devagiri and the latter, *i.e.* Simhana II, is the patron of Sarngadeva, author of the *S. Ratnakara*. It is likely that Hammira refers to this patron of Sarngadeva.



(4) *King Ganapati* : This king is most likely the well-known Kakatiya Ganapati, King of Warangal. He is well known for his patronage of arts and letters. We do not know if he himself has written any work on Natya or Sangita. Perhaps it is only as a patron that he, like Simhana, is mentioned by Hammira.

#### Nrittaratnavali of Jayasenapati

Under this Ganapati flourished *Jayasenapati* who was in charge of the elephant corps of his army—Gajasadhanika. This Jayasenapati wrote a work on Natya called the *Nritta Ratnavali*. This *Nritta Ratnavali* is available in the Tanjore Library in two manuscripts and in a fragment in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and based on all these and other material, I have edited this work critically for the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. In the beginning of chapter V, Jayasena gives the date of his patron, Ganapati. See pp. 158, my edition for the G. O. Manuscripts Library, Madras, and Introduction to the same, p. 9.

कलौ यातेषु वर्षेषु भूत-बाण-अग्नि-सागरः ।

This Kali 4355 gives us the date of Ganapati as C. 1253 A. D. Therefore the date of Hammira's *S. Sringara Hara* may be between 1253 and 1364 A. D.

#### Gitaratnavali

Jayasenapati wrote a companion work also on music proper called *Gitaratnavali* and he himself refers to this in his *Nrittaratnavali*:

एतासामपि विज्ञेयः प्रस्तारः कूटतानवत् ।

स चास्माभिः स्फुटं गीतरत्नावल्यां प्रपञ्चितः ॥

p. 172 of the edn.  
by the present writer

(5) *Jayasimha* : He is also a king, one of the more than one Jayasimhas found among the Chalukyan kings.

It is perhaps after this king Hammira, author of *Sangita Sringara Hara* that the Raga *Hammir* of North India is named.

#### Gopala Nayaka (1205-1315 A.D.)

Stories are told of Gopala Nayaka and of his great musical talents.

It is said that he was a South Indian and the name also would confirm it. He was taken

along with himself by Allaudin Khilji (1295-1315 A.D.). Dr. Isvari Prasad, author of *Mediaeval India*, assigns Gopala Nayak to the 14th Century. He is said to have had frequent discussions on music with Amir Khusru, poet and musician. (*Med. Ind.* P. 542).

The *Chaturdandi Prakasika* mentions him twice from where we have to suppose that he was most renowned in the singing of *Chaturdandi*, i.e. *Gita*, *Prabandha*, *Thaya* and *Alapa*, which word also he must have popularised.

१. ग्रहमेव श्रुतिवेदीत्याह गोपालनायकः ।

अद्यप्रभृति ते सर्वे श्रुतिज्ञा न तु पण्डिताः ॥ (?) II 57

२. गीतप्रबन्धयोरेवं भेदो यदि न कल्प्यते ।

कुतः सिद्ध्येच्चतुर्दण्डि कुतो गोपालनायकः ॥ IX 5

pp. 21, 75, Madras Music  
Academy edition

See also p. 153 of the Madras Music Academy edition of Tulaja's *S. Saramrita* where the second verse given above is cited.

Perhaps Gopala Nayaka was also called by the expression *Chaturdandi*. But both the references in *Venkatamakhin* are now obscure to us.

Kallinatha, very much earlier than *Venkatamakhin*, refers to a *Raga-Kadamba*—composition of Gopala Nayak from which it is clear that he composed some songs besides having been unrivalled master in the practice of the art.

तथा हि गोपालनायकेन गीतद्वान्त्रिंशद्भागतालयुक्ते  
गद्यात्मके अमराख्ये स्वस्तिकभेदे रागकदम्बे  
प्रथमसिंहनन्दनतालबद्धे मालवश्रीपदे पदतालावेव  
उद्ग्राहध्रुवयोर्योजिताविति द्योतवम् ।

—under S.R. IV. 153-5. 21

#### The section on Music in the Sarngadhara Paddhati

(C. 1300-1350 A. D.)

The *Sarngadhara Paddhati* is a well-known Sanskrit anthology which contains a collection of select Sanskrit verses on all subjects. The date of Sarngadhara is the 13th or the first half of the 14th Century. He is the grandson of Raghavadeva who was one of the preceptors of King Hammira just now spoken of.

One of the subjects compiled in this anthology is music. It is the eighty-first subject and is given as *Gandharva Sastram*. In the end, Sarngadhara says that the section was compiled mainly from *Ragarnava*, as we have already said.

The Music-section extends from Sloka 1942 to 2328, giving thus a brief account of music in 386 Anushtubh slokas (pp. 290-309, Peterson's Edn.).

Contents :—It first gives a brief description of Nada, from which it passes on to Svara and Raga. Then six features of good singing are given :

सुस्वरं सरसं चैव सरागं मधुराक्षरम् ।  
सालंकारप्रमाणं च षड्विधं गीतलक्षणम् ॥

Then follow the definitions of Vaggeyakara, Sishya, Gayana and mention of the flaws of a musician, after which is taken up the composition called Salagasuda. Then the Talas Dhruvaka, Mantha, Pratimantha, Nissaruka, Adatala, Rasaka and Ekatali are described. Sixteen varieties of Dhruva are defined together with the number of Padas, Rasa etc. for each of them. Then follows similar treatment of the other Talas Manthaka, Pratimanthaka etc. The next subject is the composition-types called Suddha Suda Gita and Rupaka; then seven Gamakas and the phenomenon called Pratyantara are described. The definition of Pratyantara, which pertains to a composition, is rather perplexing :

उद्दिष्टं वस्तु रागादौ किञ्चिदाधिक्यं चिन्तितम् ।  
तद्वातु मातु निष्पन्नं प्रत्यन्तरमिती रितम् ॥

Sarngadhara then takes up Svaras, Gramas, Jatis and Ragas. He names 36 *Pravartaka* Ragas:

अथ षट्त्रिंशत्प्रवर्तकरागा उच्यन्ते ।

The subjects which follow relate to tala, gana, varna-prastara, laghu-guru-pluta-lakshana and tala-prastara. Finally there is a small and interesting section culled from Ayurveda about medicinal prescriptions to aid or improve one's voice and singing. The section ends with the mention of the sources :

एतद्भागर्णवात् छन्दःशास्त्रेभ्यः आयुर्वेदाच्च ।

The music portion is from *Ragarnava*; the Dhruvas from works on metrics; the medicines from Ayurveda.

## Sangita Sudhakara of Haripaladeva (1309-1312 A.D.)

The Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library has a work on music and Natya called *Sangita Sudhakara*. (Triennial Catalogue 1910-11 to 1912-13, R. 779, containing two chapters; and Triennial Catalogue 1919-20 to 1921-22, R. 3082, containing the rest, Chaps. 3-6). The Adyar, Tanjore and Trivandrum Libraries have also manuscripts of this work.

The author is one Haripaladeva, a king. He gives his genealogy and glory in the introductory verses. His grandfather was one Somanatha. The name of his father is not legible. Haripala had the title '*Vichara-chaturmukha*' was a prolific writer, author of a hundred works. He says of himself,

अन्यूना रसनिर्भरा विदधिरे येन प्रबन्धाः शतम् ।

He was master of the theory and practice of music.

स सर्वविद्याश्रममेदिनीनां  
गोपायिता गुर्जरचक्रवर्ती ।  
व्यधत् संगीतसुधाकराख्यं  
प्रबन्धमालोडितपूर्वशास्त्रः ॥

He calls himself *Vina-tantra-visarada*, expert on the Vina, and proficient in composing in six languages :

षडभाषारचितास्पदा रसगुणालङ्कारिणी निस्तुषा  
वक्त्रे यस्य परं विहाररसिका जाता गिरां देवता ।

In the beginning of the first chapter, he says that he once went to the holy Sriranga in the Chola land to worship Sri Ranganatha. He was entertained there by a band of Natas, Nartakas and Gayakas at whose request he gave an exposition of music and dance through this treatise of his on music and dance named *Sangita Sudhakara*.

कदाचिद्रङ्गनाथस्य भोगिपर्यकशायिनः ।  
चरणाम्बुरुहद्वन्द्वन्दनोत्सुकमानसः ॥  
चोलानलकरोति स्म हरिपालः सुरोपमः ।  
श्रीरङ्गे विहितावासं श्रृङ्गारैकनिकेतनम् ।  
एनमभ्यर्थयामासुः नटनर्तकगायकाः ॥

\* \* \*

इदं (नृत्तं) लोकहितार्थं यथावत्प्रतिपाद्यताम् ।  
एवमभ्यथितस्तैस्तैः हरिपालमहीपतिः ॥  
प्रबन्धमात्मविहितं स संगीतसुधाकरम् ।  
सर्वलक्षणसम्पन्नमशिक्षयदनुक्रमात् ॥

The colophon to the work runs thus :

इति विचारचतुर्मुखश्रीहरिपालदेवविरचिते  
संगीतसुधाकरे पंचमं गीतप्रकरणम् ।

The last verse of this work praises the author thus :

प्रौढः पाटविकल्पनासु चतुरो गूढार्थसंदर्शने  
शास्त्रे विस्तृतिशालिनि प्रणयवान् संगीतस्वाश्रयः ।

He is called King Hari also and perhaps it is he who is referred to in the following verse in an anonymous work on music and dance in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library :

आदावन्ते दोषिगाथां मध्ये पाटाक्षरैर्युताम् ।  
मोहनारेदि (?) संज्ञोऽसौ कथितो हरिभूजा ॥

D. No. 12987

The Harindra referred to by the *Sangita Sudha* may also be this same Haripaladeva:

ग्रन्थान् विलोक्याधुनिकैः हरीन्द्र-  
श्रीशारंगदेवप्रमुखैः प्रणीतान् ।

There is a Chalukyan king named Haripala, in the family of the Chalukyas of Anhilwad. If we identify the author of the *S. Sudhakara* with him, we have to take this music work to C. 1150 which is his time. In support of this we may cite the references to Gurjaradesa in the introductory verses describing the author.

The *Sangita Sudhakara* is in six chapters. It deals with *Natya* in Chap. 1, with *Tala* in Chap. 2, and with *Vadya* in Chap. 3. Chap. 4 is devoted to drama and *Rasa*. Chap. 5 deals with music proper from *Sruti* to *Suddha* ragas. This chapter is called *Raga Lakshana*. The 6th, the last chapter, is *Prabandhadhyaya* with a small section on *Gayaka-Lakshana*. *Haripala* has some noteworthy views on topics of *Natya Sastra* like *Vritti* and *Rasa* which I have noticed elsewhere<sup>1</sup>.

Vidyranya's *Sangita Sara*  
(1320-1380 A.D.)

Vidyaranya is a well-known figure in Sanskrit literature of South India and in the early history of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. That he has also written a work on music is known

1. *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VII.* pp. 103-4 and my Number of *Rasas, Adyar Library*, pp. 144-150.

from the following references in the *Sangita Sudha* of Govinda Dikshita :

संगीतसारं समवेक्ष्य विद्या-

रण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।

p. 152, sl.406, Madras  
Music Academy edn.

Having given some Ragas, the *S. Sudha* says that it gives some more from the work of *Sri Vidyaranya*.

कर्णाटसिंहासनभाग्यविद्या-

रण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।

आरभ्य रागान् प्रचुरप्रयोगान्

पंचाशतं चाकलये षडंगान् ।

p. 152, sl. 413, Madras  
Music Academy edn.

From *Vidyaranya's* work are given 15 *Melas* and 50 Ragas which, *Govinda Dikshita* says, came to be in greater vogue since the time of *Vidyaranya*, the "fortune of the Karnataka kingdom".

रागास्तु पंचाशदिहोपदिष्टा

नट्टादयः सर्वजगत्प्रसिद्धाः ।

तेषां मताः पंचदशैव मेलाः

क्रमात्तदुद्देशमिहामनामः ।

pp. 152-3, sl. 414 of Madras  
Music Academy edn.

From the references in the *S. Sudha* of *Govinda Dikshita* we can take it that the classification of the Ragas into *Melas* is older than *Ramamatya*, author of the *Svaramela-kalanidhi*. Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Ayyar, on p. 1xi of his Introduction to his edition of the *Svaramelakalanidhi*, tries to make *Ramamatya* the discoverer of the *Mela* scheme. I think the references on the subject to *Vidyaranya* in the *S. Sudha*, given above, will show that Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Ayyar's opinion is not correct.

Again, in the 3rd chapter, the *Prakirnaka* (p. 255, sl. 44, 47, 48, 49, Madras Music Academy Edn.) of the *S. Sudha*, *Vidyaranya* *Sricharana* and his *S. Sara* are mentioned several times. The work is referred to here as containing clear descriptions of various kinds of *Gayakas*. On p. 281, (Madras Music Academy Edn. sl. 53), *Vidyaranya* is quoted by the

*S. Sudha* on the derivation of the word *Biruda* as the name of a *Prabandha*.

### Another *Sangita Sara*

A Ms. called *Sangita Sara* is described in the catalogue of the Bikaner Library (p. 526, Ms. No. 112). The manuscript is dated Samvat 1563 or 1506 A.D. and is described as a compendious treatise. But it does not seem to be Vidyaranya's *S. Sara*; it may be a less important work like the anonymous *S. Sara* which the *Sangita Narayana* and other Orissa music works quote and which is a treatise on North Indian Music.

### *Sangita Upanishad* and *Sangita-Upanishatsara* of *Sudhakalasa*

(1323 and 1349 A.D.)

We come to know of a work of this high sounding name of *Sangita Upanishad* from its quotation by Bhava Bhatta. From p. 274 of the Catalogue of Manuscripts from Gujerat, Kachchh etc., we learn of the existence of such a work. We see there that the *Sangita Upanishad* is the basic text and *S.U. Sara* is the author's own commentary thereon and that both of them are available at Ahmedabad. Two manuscripts of the work under the single combined name, *Sangitopanishatsara*, are described also on pp. 528-9 of the Bikaner Catalogue. (Mss. Nos. 1126, 1127). Another Ms. of it is preserved in the Dahilaxmi Library, Nadiad. The first Bikaner Manuscript contains only two chapters on *Ragas* and *Talas*.

तालप्रकाशो नाम द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

We know the author as a Jain, by name *Sudhakalasa*, from the colophon which runs thus:

इति मलधारिगच्छ मण्डनवादीन्द्र श्रीराजशेखरसूरि-  
शिष्यवाचनाचार्य-श्रीसुधाकलशविरचिते वोपज्ञ-  
संगीतोपनिषत्सारे नृत्यप्रकाशो नाम षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

The teacher of the author is given as one *Rajasekhara Suri*.

The work is in six chapters dealing with music and dance.

In the last verse of the last chapter we are also given the date of the work by the author himself.

संगीतोपनिषद्ग्रन्थं खाण्डाग्निशशिबत्सरे ।  
ऋतुशून्ययुगेन्द्रब्दे तत्सारं चापि निर्ममे ॥

That is, the basic text, the *S. Upanishad*, was written in Samvat 1380 or 1323 A.D. and, the commentary, *Sara*, upon it in Samvat 1406 or 1349 A.D.

### *Simhabhupala's Commentary on the Sangita Ratnakara*

(C. 1330 A.D.)

This work has been noticed above under the *Sangita Ratnakara*.

### *Vasantarajiya Natya Sastra*.

(Earlier than the 14th century)

*Nandilla Gopa*, in his commentary on the drama, *Prabodha Chandrodaya*, *Kumaraswamin* in his commentary on *Prataparudriya*, his father *Mallinatha* in his commentary on the epic of *Magha* and *Sarvananda* on *Amarakosa* quote a treatise on *Natya Sastra* called *Vasantarajiya*. *Katayavema's* commentaries on the *Malavikagnimitra* and *Sakuntala* of *Kalidasa* also quote from this work. The commentary on the *Sakuntala* by this same *Katayavema* (Tanjore Mss. Library; New Cat. Vol. VIII, No. 4306) gives us some information about this *Vasantarajiya* in the introductory verses:

मुनीनां भरतादीनां भोजादीनं च भूभुजाम् ।  
शास्त्राणि सम्यगालोच्य नाट्यवेदाथवेदिनाम् ॥  
प्रोक्तं वसंतराजेन कुमारगिरिभूभुजा ।  
नाम्ना वसंतराजीयं नाट्यशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् ॥

Thus *Vasanta Raja alias King Kumaragiri* wrote the *Natya* work bearing his name. It was he that asked *Katayavema* to comment on the three dramas of *Kalidasa*. *Katayavema* was his brother-in-law and minister. The time of *King Kumaragiri* is C. 1386-C. 1402 A.D. The work must be earlier than the 14th century.

### *Sangita Vidya Vinoda*

(Earlier than the 14th Century)

The above-mentioned *Katayavema*, in his commentary on the *Malavikagnimitra* (p. 7, *Nirnayasagar* Edn.), quotes a work on music by name *Sangita Vidya Vinoda*. The verse quoted praises *Siva* as embodying in himself *Lasya* and *Tandava* and is perhaps the *Mangala Sloka* of the chapter on *Nartana* in this work. I have not come across any Ms. of this work. We can say that the work is earlier than the 14th century.



The work is quoted also in a text called *Natya Sarvasva Dipika*, also known as *Adi Bharata* of Vamanandayogin, available in a manuscript in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (37th sheet). In the *Sangita-muktavali* of Devana, a treatise called *Vidyavinoda* is quoted twice on the Alatachari, popularly called Hoila and the Uttanotpluta called Garana in Tamil and Alaga (?) in Madhyadesa (pp. 74, 85-6, Transcript, Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore).

१. प्रसारितपदेन पृष्ठमण्डलकारितभ्रान्त्या इत्यर्थः ।  
तथा हि विद्याविनोदः—  
पृष्ठमण्डलिताङ्गप्रेषेदन्त्योन्याभिमुखं तलम् ।  
कृत्वा स्वपार्श्वभूस्वश्चेदलाता होइलाभिधा ।
२. तदुक्तं विद्याविनोदेन—  
उत्तानोत्प्लुतमादाय पादाभ्यां लंघयेत् स्थिरः ।  
समपादः स्थितः पश्चात्तदुत्तानोत्प्लुतं मतम् ॥  
इदं द्रविडदेशीयाः प्रोचुर्हि गरणाख्यया ।  
एतस्य मध्यदेशीयाः समूचुरलथा (गा)भिधाम् ॥

It is likely that the *Vidyavinoda* quoted by the Devana is the same as the *Sangitavidyavinoda* quoted by Katayavema. The work appears to be a South Indian production.

#### Sri Vidyachakravartin's Bharata Sangraha (Beginning of the 14th century)

In the beginning of the 14th century, a writer of immense scholarship in various branches flourished, under the patronage of Hoysala King Vira Ballala III of Dvarasamudra in Mysore. His name is Sri Vidyachakravartin and he was a great Saivacharya and Alankarika. In his commentaries on the two Alankara treatises, viz., the *Kavyaprakasa* of Mammata (Trivandrum Skt. Series, p. 378) and the *Alankara Sarvasva* of Ruyyaka (Madras Oriental Mss. Library, Ms. p. 146) he quotes a work of his on Bharata, dance and music, called *Bharata Sangraha*. (See also my note in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XIV, pp. 257-8.)

His parton, Ballala III, ruled between 1291 and 1342 A.D.

#### Rajakandarpa

(Earlier than the end of the 14th century)

We do not know why a work on music is called *Rajakandarpa*. Perhaps it is so named after the name of its author or patron, whose identity I have not so far been able to make

out. As a writer on music, he is quoted by Mallinatha, in his commentary on Sl. 40, Canto VI, *Kumarasambhava*, on the definition of Karana, a kind of playing on the Mridanga:

करणैस्तालव्यवस्थापकैः ताडनविशेषैः । तदुक्तं राजकन्दर्पेण—  
नृत्यवादित्रगीतानां प्रयोगवशभेदिनाम् ।  
संस्थानं ताडनं रोधः करणानि प्रचक्षते ॥

Later than Mallinatha, Arunagirinatha, another commentator on *Kumarasambhava* quotes *Rajakandarpa* in this same place. Mallinatha is assigned to the end of the 14th century and *Rajakandarpa* must be earlier.

#### Vemabhupala's Sangita Chintamani

(End of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th)

Vemabhupala alias Vira Narayana was the Komati King of Andhra well-known to students of Sanskrit literature as the patron of the poet Vamana Bhatta Bana and the hero of the poet's prose work, *Vemabhupala Charita*. The King is credited with an *Alankara* work called *Sahitya Chintamani*, a commentary on a Saiva work and a commentary on the *Amaru Sataka*.

Vemabhupala was a Kondavidu Prince and flourished about the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. He produced a music work called *Sangita Chintamani*, a companion to his *Sahitya Chintamani* and perhaps, the real author of both the works was his court-poet Vamana Bhatta Bana.

Two manuscripts of this work, one up to twelve chapters and another incomplete, are available in the Trivandrum Palace Library. (Trivandrum Palace Cat., p. 80, Nos. 1415 and 1416.)

#### Sangita Chintamani and Sangitamrita of Kamalalochana

From the above *Sangita Chintamani* of Vemabhupala must be distinguished a work of the same name mentioned by T. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* as described in p. 96 of Keilhorn's Catalogue of Mss. in the Central Provinces. The author of this *S. Chintamani* is one Kamalalochana and from Aufrecht's Catalogue we come to know that this Kamalalochana wrote also another music work called *Sangitamrita*.



The Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library contains a fragment of a manuscript named *Sangita Chintamani*. (Burnell Cat., 11569a; New Cat., 10715.) The work is in bad Sanskrit. It is not identical with Vema's work. According to a note in the beginning of the manuscript and the colophon, this manuscript contains the 'Pranava-viveka-adhyaya', the first chapter only. Many writers request God Siva to give out the Gita Sastra and he begins : शृणुध्वं गीतशास्त्रस्य वच्मि प्रणवमादितः । The colophon runs thus: इति श्रोतृगीतचिन्तामणौ सामवेदरहस्ये प्रणव विवेको नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः । It is interesting to know from this work that the Pranava of music is not OM but the syllables TA and NA in TENA and TAM NAM, as also the TA' DA and HAM used in singing. These constitute so to say the Panchakshara-mantra of music: तकारश्च मकारश्च हकारश्च दकारकः । मकारः प्रणवस्योऽयं पञ्चाक्षर इतीरितः ॥ From these syllables, ganas are formed Ta-ta-na, Na-na-na, Ta-na-na and so on and the text goes on to say what groups among these are auspicious and what are to be avoided, and then gives the presiding *devata*, *chandas* and *phala* (auspicious result) of these. In this connection it will be useful to draw attention to the Mss. of another work called *Tananighantu* available in the same Tanjore Library, dealing with this same subject. (See below)

### Gopendra Tippa Bhupala's Taladipika

(1474 A. D.)

Gopendra Tippa Bhupala is well-known in Sanskrit Alankara literature as the author of a commentary on Vamana's *Kavyalankara Sutra* and *Vritti*. He was a king of the Hind, Saluva, dynasty of Vijayanagar and belonged to the latter half of the 15th century. He was the elder brother of Saluva Tirumalaraya who ruled as a Vijayanagar Viceroy at Tirumalarayapuram near Karaikkal in Tanjore Dist.<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, (Madras University, pp. 62-3 and p. xi), Saluva Tippa married Harima, sister of Devaraya II (1423-46), his son was Saluva Gopa, and Saluva Gopa Tippa our author was Gopa's son and "he was the Governor under Devaraya II and later, in the viceroyalty of Mulbagal." The time of his grandfather Tippa is Saka 1352-

64, i.e., 1430-1442 A.D. and of his father Gopa Saka 1352, i.e., 1430 A.D. Our author has an inscription dated 1474 A.D. (No. 482 of 1922, Rep. 1923, para 77. See also Arch. Sur. Rep. 1908-9 p.167).

The Madras and Tanjore Manuscripts Libraries contain copies of a work of this Gopendra Tippa on Tala, called the *Tala Dipika*. (Madras Library : Trien. Cat. 1910-11 to 1912-13, R.770 ; Tanjore Burnell Cat., p.60 b, New Cat. 10828-30.) The *Tala Dipika* is a small work in three chapters :

१. मार्गतालविवेकः      २. देशीतालविवेकः
३. मार्गताल प्रस्तारादि निरूपणम्

The colophon of the work runs thus :-

इति सालुववंशपूर्णिमाचन्द्रस्य भरतमतपारावारपारी-  
णस्य श्रीगोपतिप्पभूपालस्य तालदीपिकायां मार्गताल-  
प्रस्तारादिप्रत्ययनिरूपणप्रकरणम् ।

The author quotes in this work Bharata, Sailadin, i.e. Nandikesvara, Hanuman and Sarngadeva. A work called *Chudamani* is quoted and criticised and most likely, it is King Pratapa's *S. Chudamani*, already described. The copy of the *Taladipika* in the Tanjore Library contains a Telegu gloss upon it called *Sangitadipika*.

In one of the introductory verses to his commentary on Vamana's *Alankara Sutra*, Gopendra Tippa says that he had already written a work on Tala, which does not seem to be the *Taladipika* under notice and in addition to it, a work on Natya, which we have not yet been able to secure:

प्रबन्धं तालानां भवन्ति मिषेणातनुतयः ।

The additional Tala work is said to be a composition of songs on Siva illustrative of all the Talas. Perhaps these songs are found in the *Taladipika* itself.

### Chatura Kallinatha

(Commentator on Ratnakara. 1446-1465 A.D.)

Chatura Kallinatha, as already noted, is well-known as the author of the commentary, *Kalanidhi*, on the *S. Ratnakara* of Sarngadeva. In the introductory verses in his commentary, Kallinatha describes the Karnata Desa lying between the Kaveri and Krishna rivers, Vidyanagara or Vijayanagar on the banks of the

1. See Epigraphical Report of Madras for 1923, para 77, and South Ind. Inscriptions, II. p. 117 ff. There is an inscription of his dated 1475 A.D. See also J. of the Madras University, July 1950, pp. 20-25, paper on this Tirumalaraya,

Tungabhadra and the kings who ruled there. The following kings are mentioned :—

Vijaya I (1442-1423 A.D.)  
 |  
 Devaraya II (1423-1446 A.D.)  
 |  
 Immidideva (alias Mallikarjuna Raya)  
 (1446-1465 A.D.) (Vide Sls. 5-9).

Then Kallinatha describes himself, giving his genealogy thus :

Sandilya gotra  
 |  
 Tuttalesvara  
 |  
 Lakshmidhara alias Lakshmanacharya  
 (married Sri Narayani)  
 |  
 Kallinatha (Sl. 10)

Kallinatha flourished under King Immidideva who ruled in the middle of the 15th century. He was thus a contemporary of the author of the *Tiruppuhazh* songs, Sri Arunagirinatha. He refers to himself as *Sakshat-Sangita-Devata*. The colophons mention his titles as Abhinava Bharatacharya, Rayabayaraka, i.e., Raja Vaggeyakara, and Todara Malla.

Kallinatha is relied upon and quoted by many later writers like Kumbhakarna, Somanatha, Tulajendra and others. He shows his learning in many branches of knowledge, besides music and dance. He quotes the Bhagavad Gita, Vagbhatacharya (medicine), Ayurveda, Bhamati, the commentary of Vachaspati Misra on the *Sutra Bhashya* of Sri Sankaracharya, Haradatta, the grammarian, *Chandoviti* and *Vritta Ratnakara* (two works on metre), *Kirana (Sivagama)* and two *Alankara* works, *Kavyaprakasa* and *Bhavaprakasa*.

Among writers and works in the field of music, he quotes on Ragas a large portion of the music work Aumapatam which was noticed by me in my earlier paper on "*Some More Names in Early Sangita Literature*."<sup>1</sup> In the commentary on the Nartanadhyaya, he similarly gives a large extract from Kohala's *Sangita Meru* which work was also noticed by me in the above said paper. Matanga and Bharata are often quoted. Other writers and works quoted by him, of whom I have spoken

in my paper on "*Early Sangita Literature*", are Yoga Yajnavalkya, Yajnavalkya Smṛti, Visvavasu, Tumburu, Kohala (these five quotations on the number of Srutis are reproduced by Tulaja), Nandikesvara, Vena, Dantila, Kambalasvatara, Kasyapa, Yashtika, Aumapatam and Arjuna. Abhinavagupta and his great commentary on the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata are quoted, as noticed above, and the famous Gopala Nayaka is once quoted.

### King Kumbhakarna (1433-1468 A.D.)

Reference was made to this writer under Sarngadeva and Hammira. Kumbhakarna or Kumbha Rana was a ruler of Mewar—Medapata. He is a master of music and Bharata, and has made solid contributions to the literature of both.

Most well-known among his works is his commentary called *Rasikapriya* on the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva, which is printed by the Nirnayasagar Press. In the introductory verses in this commentary, Kumbha gives his ancestry. He belonged to a race of Dvijas of whom the royal saint Bappa was the greatest. They were called Guhilas. Hammira was the next greatest ruler. (See also Rajputana Gazetteers, Vol. 2-A, Mewar Residency.)

Hammira—Greatest of Mewar Rulers,  
 died in 1364 A.D.

|  
 Khetsingh—(Kshetra Simha)

|  
 Lakka—1382-97 A.D.

|  
 Mokal—a son by another wife,  
 1397-1433 A.D.

|  
 Kumbha—1433-1468 A.D.

(See also : *Maharana Kumbha*, by Harbilas Sarda.) King Kumbha was as great a scholar as he was a ruler. He defeated the Gurjara king, the Yavanas and the Mlechhas and crowned himself as king of Chitrakuta. He refers to one Rohini as his sweetheart. In the annals of Bhakti literature he figures as the husband of the famous lady saint Mira Bai. In the very big colophon at the end of his commentary on the *Gita Govinda*, he has titles which praise him extravagantly as the very embodiment of Nada-murtiman-nada. He is referred to as Abhinava-bharatacharya, Sangita-mimamsa-mamsala-mati, etc. From many other

1. Journal of the Madras Music Academy, Vol. III., pp. 99-100.

references and from the introductory verses to each canto, we see that he could sing well.

From the evidences in his *Rasikapriya* on *Gita Govinda*, we learn that he wrote a large work on Natya, music, drama and dance, called *Sangita Raja*. This work is quoted in the *Rasikapriya* twenty-one times. Two of the quotations give the author as Kumbha.

१. तथा च संगीतराजे—

नट्टरागः तृतीयाख्यः तालो मध्ये क्वचित् क्वचित् ।  
प्रबन्धः प्रीतये गीतः श्रोपतेः कुम्भभूभुजा ॥

२. तथा च संगीतराजे—

आदितालः प्रथमतः प्रतिमण्डस्ततः परम् ।  
एतत्स्याल्लक्षणं यच्च तालराजिरसः स्मृतः ॥  
प्रबन्धः कुम्भभूनेन हरिप्रवणचेतसा ॥

From these quotations of *Sangita Raja*, we see that, in the Prabandhadhyaya of that work, Kumbha has examined and described the songs in the *Gita Govinda*, which, when he later commented on the *Gita Govinda*, he quoted. We are able to gather that *Sangita Raja* is a big work, planned on the model of Bharata's *Natya Sastra*, and treating of all the subjects dealt with by Bharata. *Sangita Raja* is quoted on Alankara, on Metres, on Rasas, etc. The chapters are called Ratnakosas—Pathyaratnakosa, Nrityaratnakosa, etc.<sup>1</sup> There is a Ms. of the first chapter of this *Sangita Raja* called the *Pathyaratnakosa* in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. (No. 365 of 1874-80). The manuscript contains 23 sheets and treats of language, Sanskrit and Prakrit, Pada, Vakya, prosody and rhetoric and some topics of music.

The *Sangita Raja* is otherwise known as *Sangita Mimamsa* and it is in accordance with it that Kumbha is called *Sangita-mimamsa-mamsala-mati*. A complete manuscript of this big work is noted by Keilhorn in his Catalogue of Manuscripts in Central Provinces (p. 96) and two manuscripts of it are also available in the Anup Library, Bikaner. On the basis of the latter manuscripts, the *Pathyaratnakosa* was published as number 4 of the Ganga Oriental Series in 1946, by Dr. Kunhan Raja. More recently (1957), the Rajasthan Research Institute issued an edition of the *Nrityaratnakosa* chapter of this work on the basis of a Baroda manuscript and the Bikaner manuscript. From this chapter it is clear that Kumbha has drawn from

Kallinatha's commentary on the *Sangitaratnakara* which he quotes twice (pp. 74, 134). Elsewhere I have shown that Kumbha uses Jaya's *Nrityaratnavali* also. The *Sangita Raja* describes itself in the colophons as a work in 16,000 verses, *Shodasasahasri*. According to a statement at the end, the work itself says that it was completed in A.D. 1453 (Samvat 1509). One fact that should not be left unnoticed in connection with this work is that in some manuscripts the work is said to have been redacted by one Kalasena, a King, for the sake of his court-dancers and as Kalasena's date is given here as A.D. 1502, there is hardly any ground for suspecting Kalasena as the real author of the work. Kalasena, it is clearly stated, was another chief whose genealogy also is given elaborately at the beginning.

In the *Rasikapriya*, another music work by Kumbha is also mentioned, viz., *Sangitakramadipika*.

श्रीमत्कुम्भभूनेन क्लृप्तविवृतौ श्रीगीतगोविन्दके  
संगीतक्रमदीपिकास्वसुरयं सर्गस्तृतीयो गतः

In Kumbha's Chitorgarh inscription, there is the additional information that he wrote also four plays of the Natika class.

चतुष्टयमयं सन्नाटकानां व्यधात् ।

In the Anup Library, Bikaner, we have a manuscript of Kumbha's epitome of the *Kamasastra*, *Samkshepa Kama Sastra*.<sup>1</sup>

### The Ananda Sanjivana of Raja Madanapala (Earlier than 1428 A. D.)

From the Bikaner Catalogue and the Asiatic Society of Bengal Catalogue we come to know a work on music called *Ananda Sanjivana* written by a king named Madanapala (p. 509, Manuscript 1090, Bik. Cat.; ASB Cat. XIV.55). This work treats of Ragas and other music subjects, like instruments and of dance also.

The manuscript above noticed is dated Samvat 1585, i.e., A.D. 1528. Therefore, the work itself is earlier than the first quarter of the 16th century.

### The Sangita Suryodaya of Lakshminarayana (1st quarter of the 16th century)

This is a work on music produced in the court of King Krishnadeva Raya of Vijaya-

1. Vide my article on this work in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XIV. Parts III and IV, 1932-33.

nagar. The author Lakshminarayana was a protege of that famous royal patron of arts and letters. The work is available in Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (Trien. Cat., 1922-23 to 1924-25, R. 4516). The introductory verses describe the city Vidya-puri, i.e., Vijayanagar, King Nrisimha, his son Krishnadeva Raya and his conquests. The author gives his own genealogy as follows :

Bharadvaja Gotra

Kesavamatya—Gouramamba

Bhandaru Vitthala—Rukmini

Lakshminarayana alias Lakshmana.

His Guru in music was one Vishnu Bhattaraka.

यो भारद्वाजगोत्रे समजनि श्रुत (बहु) वित् केशवामात्यवर्यः  
तद्देवी गौरमाम्बा तदमलजठरे विटठलाख्यो वरेण्यः ।  
तद्भार्या रुक्मिणीति प्रचूरतरगुणा तत्सुधापूरगर्भे  
लक्ष्मीनारायणोऽयं जयति भुवि यतः स्यादपत्यं सुलक्ष्म ॥  
सोऽयं श्रीलक्ष्मणायो भरतमतमंगादिमार्गेण सर्वान्

\* \* \*

भूमौ श्रीकृष्णरायक्षितिपतिकृपया वर्धते सर्ववन्द्यः ॥  
संगीतागमलक्ष्यलक्ष्मिपुणैः श्रीविष्णुभट्टारकैः ।  
ज्ञात्वा दत्तिलकोहलादिभरतग्रन्थान् सुटीकान्वितान् ।  
भूमौ कीर्तिशरीररक्षणधिया ग्रन्थः कृतोऽयं मया  
संगीतग्रहयोग्यताधिकतरः संगीतसूर्योदयः ॥

Like Kallinatha and Ramamatya, he had also the titles of Rayabayakara and Todaramalla. Rayabayakara is a corruption of the Sanskrit name Raja-vag-geya-kara, royal musician, expert in singing and composing. 'Bayakara' is an Apabhramsa for 'Ubhaya-kara, i.e. 'Dhatu-matu-kara', which means Vag-geya-kara. Says the *Sangita Sudha* in Chapter III:

वाचं च गेयं च करोति यस्मात् वाग्गेयकारः कथितस्ततोऽसौ ।  
वाक्शब्दपर्यायतयैव मातु-शब्दः प्रयुक्तः किल गीतिदर्शः ॥  
गेयस्य पर्यायतया तु धातुशब्दं तथा गीत विदो वदन्ति ।  
बन्धं पदानां प्रवदन्ति मातुं स्वरोपसन्दर्भमुशन्ति धातुम् ॥  
मातुं च धातुभयान् करोति यस्तं विदुश्चोभयकारसंज्ञम् ।  
तमेव लोका वयकारनाम्ना वदन्त्यपभ्रंशपदेन सर्वे ॥

pp. 252-3, Madras Music Academy edn.

The colophon runs thus :

इति श्रीमत् विप्रकुलवर्य भण्डार विटठलेश्वर नन्दन  
सूक्ष्मलिखिताचार्य रायवयकार तोडरमल्ल  
अभिनवभरताचार्य श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण विरचिते  
संगीतसूर्योदये नृताध्यायो द्वितीयः ।

The work is in five chapters and treats of dance also. The contents of the five chapters are : Tala, Nritya, Svaragita, Ragajati, Prabandha. The Madras manuscript is incomplete as there is a gap in the most important chapter on Ragas. In the Sarasvati Mahal Library, there is a manuscript of a text called *Matangabharata* (No. 10667) which is really a portion of the *Sangitasuryodaya*. (See p. 31 of my Introduction to the *Nrittaratnavali* of Jayasenapati).

Krishnadeva Raya ruled between 1509 and 1529 A.D. and this fixes the date of the work.

### Ragadipika

A work of this name, without the name of its author, is quoted by Lakshmidhara in what is called *Bharata Sastra Grantha* which we shall notice presently. The work must be earlier than the 16th century which is the date of Lakshmidhara, protege of Arivitu Tirumalaraya of Vijayanagar.

### Ranga Lakshmi Vilasa

The above noted text, as also Lakshmidhara's commentary on the *Gita Govinda* named *Srutiranjani* (available in the Madras and Tanjore Manuscripts Libraries) quotes a work of the name *Ranga Lakshmi Vilasa* which deals with Raga, Tala and Natya. The *Srutiranjani* quotes it twice.

### Vamadeviya

A similar work quoted in the above-said Lakshmidhara's *Srutiranjani* is what is called *Vamadeviyam*; it is quoted on the dance called *Charana*.

चारणनृत्यलक्षणं तु वामदेवीये—

उद्यता वाद्यचक्रेषु हाहाहुंकारभाषिते etc.

### Bharata Sastra Grantha

(of Cherukuri Lakshmidhara)

(16th century A.D.)

There is a manuscript of the name *Bharatasastragrantha* in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. This is not an independent or regular work. It is an irregular fragment of Cherukuri Lakshmidhara's *Srutiranjani* on the *Gita Govinda*, as I have shown in my Note on this manuscript in the *Annals*



of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, XVIII,ii, 1937, p. 198-9.

### Gita Prakasa

(First half of the 16th century)

The *Sangita Narayana* and *Sangita Sarani*, two works in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, quote often a work called *Gita Prakasa*. The *Sangita Narayana* quotes it often :

(1) गीतप्रकाशे तु रञ्जकः स्वरसन्दर्भो गीतमिति ।

(2) It is quoted on p. 44 as opining that it is the Raga Desapala which is called Kedara.

(3) It is quoted on the three Avayavas or parts of a Prabandha:

स त्रिधेति गीतप्रकाशकारेण उक्तम् ।

उद्ग्राहध्रुवाभोगरूपेण त्रिधेति भावः ।

(4) On p. 59, King Narayana says that the writer Harinayaka has given the definitions of many difficult Prabandhas in his work and that the illustrations for these can be had in the *Gita Prakasa*.

(5) On p. 84, a song in Mallara Raga is quoted from the *Gita Prakasa*. From these quotations we can see that the Prabandha chapter of this work is most valuable and is indicative of the time of the composition of the work. The song closes thus:

श्रृणुत कर्णकुतुकारि कृष्णदासविरचनां

गजपति नृपहृदय etc.

From this it is clear that this work also was produced under the patronage of a Gajapati, King of Orissa Ganga Dynasty, a predecessor of King Narayana. Krishnadasa is a composer whose songs are found in the Prabandhadhyaya of the *Gita Prakasa*. Krishnadasa was a contemporary of Sri Chaitanya. As shown below, he is the author of the *Gita Prakasa*.

The *Sangita Sarani* of Kavi Narayana quotes a Kshudra-Prabandha in Gundakari Raga called Chitrapada composed by Ramananda Kaviraya, as found in *Gita Prakasa* :

उदाहरणं यथा गीतप्रकाशे गुण्डकरिरागेण etc.

The song closes thus :

जयतु रुद्रगजेशमुदितं रामानन्दकविरायकविगीतम्

This Rudra is Virarudra Gajapati, the Utkal king, whom his contemporary, Krishna-devaraya of Vijayanagar, defeated and whose daughter the latter married. Ramananda, author of the above song was his court-poet. He was also, like Krishnadasa, a contemporary of Chaitanya.

There is a Ms. of the work in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (Trien. Cat. 1919-20 to 1921-22, R. 3176d.) The work is in 15 chapters which are as follows :

- (१) प्रबन्धलक्षणम् (२) छायालग्निरूपणम्  
(३) रूपकभेदनिरूपणम् (४) तालकलाविचारः  
(५) खण्डविचारः (६) क्षुद्रगीतप्रकरणम् (७) गीत-  
गुणविचारः (८) दोषनिरूपणम् (९) नृत्यलक्षणम्  
(१०) वाद्यलक्षणम् (११) रागविचारः (१२) षाड-  
वनिरूपणम् (१३) गीतप्रशंसा (१४) नायिकालक्षणम्  
(१५) नादविचारः ।

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao of Bangalore says in his *History of Vijayanagar* that Prataparudradeva of Orissa, whose daughter was married by Krishnadevaraya ruled between 1504 and 1532 A.D., whereas R. D. Banerji Sastri, in his *History of Orissa*, gives 1497 A.D. as the date of his accession and says that he ruled up to 1541 A.D. Prataparudradeva was a pupil of Sri Chaitanya who lived long in Orissa. Ramananda Raya (Kavi), whose composition we noticed above, was an officer under Prataparudradeva. He was Governor of Rajamahendra and was himself a follower of Chaitanya. Besides his musical compositions, Ramananda wrote a Sanskrit drama called *Sri Jagannatha Vallabha Nataka* and several other minor works. (Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. VI. 1920, pp. 448-53.)

From more detailed examination of manuscripts of the *Gita Prakasa*, it has been found<sup>1</sup> that its author is Krishandas Badajana Mahapatra who flourished in the court of Mukundadeva Gajapati (1559-68 A. D.)<sup>1</sup>

### Ramamatya's Svaramelakalanidhi

(1550 A.D.)

Ramamatya, contemporary and brother-in-law of Ramaraja of Vijayanagar, flourished in

1. See Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. VII, p. 2, July 1958, the article 'Two Unknown Sanskrit Poets of Orissa'; see also Journal of the Madras Music Academy, XXIX, p. 86.

the 16th century. He wrote the work at Ramaraja's request. His work *Svaramelakalanidhi* has been edited with introduction, etc. by Mr. M.S. Ramaswami Iyer in the Annamalai University series (1932).

According to the colophon at the end of the work, it was finished in 1550 A.D.

In Sl. 27, Chap. 1, Ramamatya mentions one Kallappa Desika as his Matamaha, maternal grand father. In Ch. 1, Sl. 4, there is reference through paronomasia to the *Kalanidhi* of Kallinatha on the Ratnakara.

(१) विद्यानिधिः कलपदेशिकस्ते मातामहो  
दत्तिलवन् महीयान् ।

(२) कलानिधिर्योऽनवगीतरत्नाकरं च पुष्पाति  
कन्तप्रवालम् ।

Before the edition mentioned above, there had appeared two editions of this work, one in South India and another with Marathi notes by Mr. Bhatkhande.

### The Works of Pundarika Vitthala

(1590 A.D.)

The Bikaner Catalogue describes three works of Pundarika Vitthala, *Raga Mala*, *Raga Manjari* and *Sadraga Chandrodaya*. All these three works are available in print. The *Sadraga Chandrodaya* is called wrongly *Shadraga Chandrodaya* in Bikaner Catalogue which consequently describes the work as defining six primary Ragas. The work mentions in the last verse that Vitthala belongs to the village Satanurva near the hill called Sivaganga in the Karnataka country.

कण्ठि शैवगंगाभिधनगनिकटे सातनूर्वाह्वयो यो  
ग्रामस्तत्राग्रजन्मप्रवरसुनिकरात् जामदग्न्योऽस्ति वंशः ।

Vitthala was a Brahmin of the Jamadagnya Vamsa and all the colophons to his work specify him as Karnata-jatiya. The introductory verses of the work (Sl. 2-6) give information about Vitthala's patron. Vitthala flourished in the court of the Mohammedan King, Burhan Khan of the Pharaki family which ruled between 1370-1600 A.D., at the city called Anandavalli, in the South, a place three miles west of Nasik. The father and grandfather of this Burhan Khan are given as Taj Khan and Ahmed Khan.

The *S.R.Chandrodaya* is in three chapters called Svara-prasada, Svaramela-prasada and Alapti-prasada.

The *Ragamala* is another small work of Vitthala on ragas which, he says, he wrote for one Kapilamuni: श्रीमत्कपिलमुन्यर्थं क्रियते राग-मालिका ।

The work mentions in a verse at the end that Vitthala's mother was Nagamba: नागाम्बा धर्मसूनुद्विजवरतिलको विटठुलोऽस्तीह विद्वान् ।

(See Bhandarkar Institute Descriptive Cat. XII p. 385.)

According to the statement in the above mentioned verse, the *Ragamala* was composed in A.D. 1576. शाके वस्वकवेदाब्जकपरिगणिते

× × × तेनेयं रागमाला रसिकजनगले भूषणार्थं कृता हि ।

The *Ragamala* has an easier vernacular version called *Sugama Ragamala* written by one Kalyana Kavi who flourished under the brother of Madhavasimha, viz. Manasimha. This is also printed.

The southerner Vitthala later went to the north. His third work *Ragamanjari* praises Akbar under whom were the two brothers, Madhavasimha and Manasimha, kings of the Kacchapa Vamsa. The *Ragamanjari* was written for Madhavasimha, a devotee of Vishnu whose genealogy also Vitthala gives in the introductory verses : (Kacchapa Vamsa—King Bhanu-Bhagavanta Dasa—Madhavasimha and Manasimha). Madhav Singh and Man Singh are the well-known Jaipur chiefs who were vassals of Akbar (1556-1605). The *Ragamanjari* is a small work on Northern Music in two chapters on Svara and Raga. Among Ragas, Vitthala gives 15 new Parasika Ragas in the end. There is a Ms. of it in the Bikaner Library and it was printed in Bombay (1918).

Besides these works, two more were written by Vitthala, viz. *Nritya* or *Nartana Nirnaya* and *Sangita vritta* (?) *ratnakara*. The Tanjore Library contains a work of Vitthala in three chapters, dealing with music and dance, bearing three names on the cover sheet, *Ragamala*, *Sangitavrittaratnakara* and *Nartana nirnaya*. The *Nartana Nirnaya* states that it was written to please Akbar : अकबरनृपसुख्यर्थं × × × कृतमिदम् ।<sup>1</sup>

1. See P. K. Gode, the *Chronology of the works of Pundarika Vitthala of Karnataka*, Journal of the Madras Music Academy, Vols. VI-VIII, pp. 119-126

Pundarika Vitthala was not a mere musician, but one versed in other branches of Sanskrit literature also ; and we have a lexicon compiled by him called the *Sighrabodhini-Namamala* and a short work on Nayika—Nayaka called *Dutikarma Prakasa*. (See my article, *The Non-musical works of some leading Music Writers*, Journal of the Madras Music Academy, XX, pp. 153, XXI pp. 182-3).

### Somanatha's Ragavibodha (1609 A.D.)

The *Ragavibodha* of Somanatha is printed and a Marathi gloss on it is also available in print. It received the attention of scholars very early, there being an English translation of it and some analyses of it in Europe also. The text of Somanatha with an English translation was printed also by Mr. K.B. Deval in *Sanskrit Research*, Bangalore, Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4, under the title *Theory of Indian Music as expounded by Somanatha*. It was later edited with an introduction and a translation in English by Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer of Madras but the editor's omission of Somanatha's own commentary on his text from this edition is regrettable. The Adyar Library then brought out an edition with the author's commentary (1945).

In Slokas 3 and 4, Chap. I, Somanatha gives some information about himself. His family, himself and his father had the title 'Sakala-kala', 'well-versed in all arts'. His grandfather is mentioned as Menganatha and father, Mudgala Suri.

The work is in four chapters devoted to Sruti-Svara, Vina, Mela and Raga. The third chapter deals with Ragas and the fourth with some more Ragas, more elaborately, and in the order of the time of the day when they should be sung. The work is in Arya verses, accompanied by a commentary of the author himself. Somanatha draws mostly upon Sarngadeva and Kallinatha whom he mentions often. Other music writers quoted by him are Matanga, Kohala, Hanuman, Umapati and Parsvadeva. One noteworthy work quoted by him twice in chap. 4 and which we have noticed already is the *Ragarnava*.

Somanatha is learned in branches of knowledge other than music also. The *Kavyalankara* of Rudrata and the *Kavyaprakasa* of Mamata, two Alankara works, the *Madhaviya Nighantu*, the *Kosas*, *Amara* and *Vaijayanti*,

and the *Chandas* of Pingala are quoted by him.

Somanatha gives the date of the composing of his work at the end thus :— *Ku-dahana-tithi-ganita-sake* i.e., Saka 1531, or A.D. 1609.

S.R.Bhandarkar's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Deccan College (XIX, I, p. 430. Manuscript No. 276) mentions a manuscript called *Raga Vibodha Viveka* and describes it as a commentary on Somanatha's *R.V.* There is no separate commentary on the *R. Vibodha* by another writer and the commentary above noted is nothing but Somanatha's own gloss on his verses.

Somanatha, like Vitthala, had other literary interests, besides music. It may be noted that while describing Ragas, he mentions also the Nayikas or types of heroines appropriate to each of the female Ragas. On this subject of Nayika-Nayaka-bheda, Somanatha wrote a work called *Jatimala*. He wrote also a poem called *Anyoktimuktavali*.<sup>1</sup>

### The Sangita Sarvasva of Jagaddhara (Between the 14th and 17th centuries)

Jagaddhara is a well-known writer who has written commentaries on the Alankara work of Bhoja, *Sarasvati Kanthabharana* and some dramas like Bhavabhuti's *Malatimadhava*. Scholars assign him to the time between the 14th and the 17th centuries and his definite date is not yet known. He has produced, besides, a *Sivastotra*. He is the son of Ratnadhara and Damayantika and is known as a Naiyayika also. He held the office of Dharmadhikaranika under some king. From a quotation by himself in his commentary on Bhoja's *Sarasvati Kanthabharana*, we learn that he was proficient in music and Natya and produced a treatise thereon called the *Sangita Sarvasva* :

तदुक्तं मत्संगीतसर्वस्वे 'मधुरा कुञ्चितान्ता' etc.

Vasudeva's commentary on the drama *Karpuramanjari* of Rajasekhara (p. 5), Ruchipati's commentary on Murari's drama *Anargharaghava* (p. 300, 302), and Raghavabhatta's commentary on the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa quote the *Sangita Sarvasva*.

<sup>1</sup> See my article *The Non-musical works of some of our leading Music writers*, Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, XX, pp. 152-4.

### Kesava

All that we know of this writer is that he was a commentator on the *Ratnakara* and that he flourished before 1614 A.D., the time of the *Sangita Sudha* which is the sole source of our knowledge regarding this writer. See above under *S. Ratnakara* and the commentaries upon it.

### Harindra

Another writer known to us similarly from a mention in the *Sangita Sudha* is Harindra; of him also nothing more is known. See above under Haripala and below under *Sangita Sudha*.

### Sangita Chandrika of Madhava Bhatta

(Earlier than 1614 A.D.)

The *Sangita Sudha* now and then refers to a Bhatta Madhava and his music work, *Sangita Chandrika* :

निशाम्य संगीतकचन्द्रिकायां  
कृतिं च भट्टादिममाधवस्य ।

P. 152 Madras Music Academy edn.

The *Sangita Narayana* quotes a *Sangita Chandrika* : on p. 25, the Murti of Madhyamadi and p. 44 Murti of Kedar. This *Sangita Chandrika* seems to be a different work.

The Tanjore Library contains a manuscript of Madhava Bhatta's *Sangita Chandrika*. (T. V. No. 373, Tanjore Library). The author is described as Varanasi-vastavya—a citizen of Banaras. Its author is known from the following passage in the text and from the colophon :

- (१) मूर्च्छना सा तु तत्संख्येत्यवोचत् भट्टमाधवः ।  
(२) col. इति वाराणसीनिवासि माधवभट्टविरचितायां  
संगीतचन्द्रिकायां श्रुतिस्वरग्राममूर्च्छनातान-  
विवेकप्रकाशः ॥

Matanga is quoted in the text. The contents of the work are :—

(1) Sruti, Svra etc. (2) Raga, Gamaka and Alapa (3) Kaku, Sthaya and Sarira (voice).

This *Sangita Chandrika* of Madhava Bhatta may be taken as not later than 1614 A.D. if it is the work of that name quoted in the *Sangita Sudha*.

### Tanappacharya

(1600 A. D.)

In the *Chaturdandi Prakasika* of Venkatamakhi we have one Tanappacharya referred to as follows :

1. तत्पुनः संप्रदायज्ञैः तानप्पाद्यैः अनादृतम् ।

2. In the Alapa Prakarana, we find—

तानप्पकृतपञ्चाशत् रागालापेषु यत्कृतम् ।

आलापलक्षणमिदं लक्ष्यतां लक्ष्यकोविदैः ॥

3. In the Thaya-Prakarana, we find him mentioned as the author's Parama Guru, i.e. Guru's Guru of Venkatamakhi.

ठायसामान्यलक्ष्मेदं वेङ्कटाध्वरिणोदिता ।

परमो गुरुरस्माकं तानप्पाचार्यशेखरः ॥

सर्वेषामपि रागाणां एतल्लक्ष्मानुसारतः ।

ठायान् प्रकल्पयामास लक्ष्यमस्य तदेव सः ॥

From these we see that Venkatamakhi follows Tanappacharya, his Guru's Guru, and that perhaps he wrote some works, or at least codified or composed set methods of singing Ragas, Thayas etc.

It is traditionally handed down that Tanappacharya is Venkatamakhi's Guru. The introduction to the *Sangita Sampradaya Pradarsini* of Subbarama Dikshitar gives him as the Guru of Venkatamakhi, the author of the *Chaturdandiprakasika*, and as a northerner, *Auttara-desika*. Some say that he is only a songster and that he is none else than the renowned Tansen of Akbar's court, who is believed to have been converted to Islam. There is nothing in the dates of Akbar, Tansen and Venkatamakhi to go against such an identification, but there is no actual evidence for such a supposition.

The text of the *Chaturdandi* clearly mentions him as the author's Guru's Guru. And if none else than his father Govinda Dikshita is the Guru of Venkatamakhi, we do not know how Govinda Dikshita makes no mention of Tanappa in his *S. Sudha*.

Another opinion, held by Mr. P. S. Sundaram Ayyar of Tanjore, is that Tanappa might have been none else than Venkatamakhi's own father and author of the *Sangita Sudha*, Govinda Dikshita (Vide p. 159, Journal of the Madras Music Academy Vol II.



p. 159). There does not seem to be any proof for this identification.

Scholars are aware of Bhava Bhatta and his works. This writer was a protege of Anupa Simha, King of Bikaner, who ruled between 1674 and 1709 A.D. His *Anupa Sangita Vilasa* mentions that he had a grandfather named Tana Bhatta. Could Tanappa, grand teacher of Venkatamakhi, be identical with him? Ranganatha of Banaras who wrote his commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya* in 1790 A.D. and shows acquaintance with music had a great-grand-father named Tana Bhatta.

### Sangita Sudha of Govinda Dikshita (1614 A. D.)

Though the *Sangita Sudha* is known as a work of King Raghunatha, it was really Govinda Dikshita, the minister of Raghunatha and his father Achyuta, who wrote it. He attributed it to his patron and king. This is plain, as has been pointed out by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri of Tanjore, in an article on Venkatamakhi and his twelve notes in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy. (Vol. II, p. 22). The following evidence is found in the *Chaturdandiprakashika* and this has been quoted in the Preface to the *Sangita Sampradaya-pradarsini* also. In the Veena Prakarana, Venkatamakhi says that he will reproduce certain verses from his father's work, known by the name *Sangita Sudhanidhi*:

तल्लक्षणं तु संगीतसुधानिधिरिति श्रुते<sup>1</sup> ।

चेव्वयाच्युतभूपालरघुनाथनृपांकिते ।

अस्मत्तातकृते ग्रन्थे प्रोक्तान् श्लोकान् लिखाम्यहम् ।

Ch. I, 153-5 p. p. 13-14, Madras Music Academy edn.

The context is the description of the *Raghunatha Mela Veena* and after these verses, three Upajati verses are reproduced from the *Sangita Sudha*. From this reference we are to take that the *Sangita Sudha* of Govinda Dikshita was also known as the *Sangita Sudhanidhi*. But actually the reading may be *Sudhayam paridrisyate* and there is no need to suppose an alternate name for the work.

<sup>1</sup> The reading here is not clear; the Ms. has सुधानिधि प्रदृश्यते; it may be सुधायां परिदृश्यते ।

In state affairs, public benefactions and contributions to culture, great is the name of Govinda Dikshita alias Ayyan. Those interested in his life may look up Mr. Venkateswara Ayyar's book on Govinda Dikshita.

Thanks to the efforts of Subrahmanya Sastri and Sundaram Ayyar of Tanjore, this work was printed in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy; the present writer who was in charge of the work in the later stages issued it in book form with additions and corrections, detailed table of contents etc.<sup>1</sup>

The work opens with a historical prelude in 77 verses which forms valuable material for the historian of the Nayak Kings of Tanjore. The genealogy of King Raghunatha, the number and kinds of charities made by each Nayak king and other details are described. The literary productions associated with the King Raghunatha, *Parijataharana-prabandha*, *Valmiki-charita-kavya*, *Achyutendrabhyudaya* (a historical kavya about his own father), *Gajendramoksha*, *Nalacharita-kavya* and *Rukminikalyanayakshagana* are mentioned. Then Raghunatha's proficiency in music, his creation of new Ragas, Talas and a new Mela, are mentioned thus:

जयन्तसेनादिमराग-रामानन्दादितालान् रचयन्नवीनान् ।

संगीतविद्यां समुपादिशस्त्वं विपश्चिकावाद-  
विचक्षणानाम् ॥

किञ्च त्वमञ्चद्भवदीयनाम-मेलान्तरं संप्रति  
कल्पयित्वा ।

मेलान्तरे तत्र समस्तरागान् प्रकाशयोग्यान् सुलभान्  
करोषि ॥

P. 5, Madras Music Academy edn.

We need not doubt the scholarly interests of Raghunatha. In the historical poem on him named *Sahitya Ratnakara* (published in the Madras University Journal and later as a separate Bulletin) by a son of this Govinda Dikshita, named Yajnanarayana Dikshita, the first Veena-performance given by Raghunatha before the State Vidvans and his father is described at length. (Canto VI, Slis. 4-29).

Raghunatha invented Jayantasena and other Ragas and Ramananda and other Talas. He devised a Mela with his name, in which could be played all the Ragas. This is taken as the

1. Music Academy Series 1, 1940.

basis by Mr. Sundaram Ayyar of Tanjore who says that the 72 Melakarta scheme found in the *Chaturdandi Prakasika* of his son is really the work of Govinda Dikshita. While it cannot be held that musical ideas were evolved by Venkatamakhin without his father's knowledge, what we actually know is that Venkatamakhin expressly takes credit in his work for inventing the 72 Melakarta scheme.

Then the work gives its extent and scope thus: It is in seven chapters : I. Svara, II. Raga, III. Prakirnaka (here Vaggeyakara, Gandharva, Gayana etc., are defined ; Sarira, Gamaka, Brinda etc., are also dealt with), IV. Prabandha, V. Tala, VI. Vadya, VII. Nartana (Natya, Rasa, etc., are here comprehended). But in all the manuscripts of the work that are available to us, we do not have the text after the Prabandha-dhyaya, i. e., the fourth chapter. The remaining portion containing the chapters on Tala and Nartana are yet to be found.

The work is written in beautiful Sanskrit and is noteworthy for the polish and grace of its language. Many Sastrakaras like Kumarila, Udayana, Vedanta Sutrakara, Mahabharata, Vamana and Bhamaha are mentioned. Among writers on music, Durga, Dattila, Sadasiva, Sardula, Tumburu, Narada, Nandin, Hanuman, Kohala, Matanga, Bharata, Sarngadeva, Parsvadeva (many times ; see pp. 274, 279 and 280, Music Academy edition), Somesvara (p. 834) Arjuna, Vidyaranya, Bhatta Madhava, Umapati, Kesava, Kallinatha and Harindra are quoted. The noteworthy data given here with regard to different works and authors have already been noticed, during the course of this paper, as well as in the earlier paper on *Early Sangita Literature*. The writer named Harindra is referred to in the following verse :

ग्रन्थान् विलोक्याधुनिकैः हरीन्द्रश्रीशाङ्गदेवप्रमुखैः प्रणीतान्।  
आकर्ण्य लक्ष्याणि च तत्र तत्र तत्संप्रदायेन समागतानि ॥

P. 100, Madras Music Academy edn.

We have suggested above that this Harindra, who is referred to as a recent writer (Adhunika) like Sarngadeva, as a contrast to Matanga, Sadasiva etc., may be King Haripaladeva, author of *Sangita Sudhakara*. For a full list of the citations in the *Sangita Sudha*, see its Music Academy edition.

### The Chaturdandi Prakasika of Venkatamakhin (1620 A.D.)

Venkatamakhin, referred to also as Venkatadhvari and Venkatesvara Dikshita, is one of

the sons of the above-mentioned Govinda Dikshita, author of *Sangita Sudha*. He was a distinguished Mimamsa scholar and has contributed to that Sastra a commentary on Kumarila viz., the *Varttikabhārana*. The famous poet and minister at the Madura Nayak court, Nilakantha Dikshita was a pupil of his. This Venkatamakhin wrote a treatise on music called the *Chaturdandi Prakasika*. Though produced in the Tanjore palace, no manuscript of it is found in the Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore and for long no manuscript of it could be found at all. Venkatamakhin was remembered as the systematiser of Carnatic music, and the author of the 72 Melakarta scheme.

Attention may be invited to an objective analysis of the position of Venkatamakhin and the 72 Melas scheme by the present writer in his paper on the subject in the *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras (XII. 69—79). Sri T. L. Venkatarama Iyer, through his Guru Sri Ambi Dikshitar of Ettayapuram, descendant of the composer Muthuswami Dikshitar, secured a Telugu paper copy of the manuscript and prepared a Devanagari copy from it. Later, on behalf of the Music Academy, Madras, Pandit Subrahmanya Sastri of Tanjore prepared it for press. Previously, Mr. Bhatkhande had published portions of it, having copied those portions from the above-noted Telugu manuscript. Sometime later, the Music Academy, Madras, issued also a Tamil translation of the work, prepared by Sri Subrahmanya Sastri.

Scholars who have gone through the work hold diverse views ; while there are not wanting Vidvans who stand and swear by it, others question the validity or the usefulness of its scheme. A severe controversy over the subject of the Melakarta-scheme raged in the Madras Press (Vide *Hindu Literary Supplements*, Dec. 20th and 26th, 1932—Karnatic Music—The Importance of Standards). In his work, Venkatamakhin says that he devised the 72 Melakarta scheme, that it is absolutely above reproach and that not even God Siva could improve upon it:

सेलद्विसप्ततिः श्रीमद्वेङ्कटाध्वरिकल्पिता । न्यूनं वाप्यधिकं  
वापि प्रसिद्धैर्द्विदशस्वरैः । कल्पयेन्मेलनं तर्हि ममायासो  
वृथा भवेत् ॥ iv. 74, 90.

न हि तत्कल्पने फाललोचनोऽपि प्रगल्भते । न हीयन्ते  
न वर्धन्ते तथा मेल द्विसप्ततिः ॥

P. 42, 43, Madras Music Academy edn. 91, 92.

The work as available to us now does not contain the end of the penultimate chapter and the whole of the last chapter. Chapter I gives the following as the contents of the work :

अस्यां वाग्यकारैकसंजीवनमुधानिधौ ।  
 आद्यं वीणाप्रकरणं श्रुतिप्रकरणं ततः ॥  
 स्वरप्रकरणं पश्चात् मेलप्रकरणं ततः ।  
 ततो रागप्रकरणांशप्रकरणे क्रमात् ॥  
 ठायप्रकरणं चाथ गीतप्रकरणं ततः ।  
 प्रबन्धानां प्रकरणं तालप्रकरणं ततः ॥  
 दशप्रकरणोपेता कृतिविद्वदलंकृतिः ।

P. 1, Madras Music Academy edn.

The end of the 11th chapter, Prabandhas, and the 12th chapter, Talas, are lost. Some of the authors quoted in the work are Bharata, Sarngadeva, Narada, Matanga, Somesvara, Gopala Nayaka, Ramamatya and Tanappa. Of these the last but one, the author of the *Svaramela Kalanidhi*, is very strongly criticised. The following are a few samples of the language of the onslaught on Ramamatya :

तथाहि विशतिमेलानाह रामो विमुदधीः ।

IV. 173. P. 52, Madras Music Academy edn.

सत्यं विमोक्ष्यसे राम रामसेतुं गतोऽपि वा ।

IV. 197, P. 54. *Ibid.*

रामो बभ्राम ॥ I. 56. पशुपालोऽपि बुध्यते ॥

I. 116, Pp. 5, 10, *Ibid.*

He says that Ramamatya could not understand what even a shepherd could understand. Such criticism is unwarranted, especially when we allow for the passage of time and rise of new ideas in the theoretical analysis and singing practice. The same sane view has, strangely, to be adopted in regard to the *Chaturdandi Prakasika* itself. For, the Mela-scheme as it came to prevail later, and is still obtaining, is not the one that accords with that of Venkatamakhin but agrees with that found in a work called *Sangraha Chudamani* which we shall be noticing below:

Of Gopala Nayaka mentioned by Venkatamakhin and of Tanappacharya, the Paramaguru of Venkatamakhin, we have spoken above.

Now to the title of the work which is a rare kind of name in Sanskrit Sangita literature. The name means an exposition of Chaturdandi and the work *Chaturdandi* is explained by a passage in Tulaja's *Sangita Saramrita* which borrows largely from the *Chaturdandi Prakasika*. The reference says that Chaturdandi is four forms of singing, viz., Gita, Prabandha, Thaya and Alapa. The line in the *Saramrita* is "गीतप्रबन्धठायालापचतुर्दण्डी" and these are the main subjects treated of by Venkatamakhin. The famous Gopala Nayaka must have been very famous for the singing of Chaturdandi or must have codified these four forms for a certain number of Ragas; for in the IXth Chapter, Sl. 5, Venkatamakhin says : गीतप्रबन्धयोरेवं भेदो यदि न कल्प्यते ।

कुतस्सिद्धयेच्चतुर्दण्डी श्रुतो (दण्डी कृतो) गोपालनायकः ॥

P. 75, Madras Music Academy edn.

The *Chaturdandi Prakasika* was not a production of Raghunatha's reign which began in A.D. 1614. It was written in the reign of Raghunatha's successor, Vijaya Raghava Nayaka who prompted the writing of it. The colophon in the manuscript of the *Chaturdandi Prakasika* bears out this fact:

अच्युतविजयराघवभूपालप्रेरितस्य वेंकटेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कृतो  
 चतुर्दण्डीप्रकाशिकायाम् आद्यं वीणाप्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ।

Vijaya Raghava Nayaka ruled up to about A. D. 1672. The *Sangita Saramrita* of King Tulaja, a Mahrata ruler of Tanjore, utilises a large portion from the Veena-prakarana of the *Chaturdandi Prakasika*, and makes repeated reference to it in his Raga chapter. Besides the *Chaturdandi Prakasika*, Venkatamakhin is said to be the author of the supplement (*anubandha*) setting forth the names of the 72 Melas and their derivatives with short descriptions; but on this, attention may be invited to my paper, above referred to. Venkatamakhin has composed Lakshana-gitas also for a large number of Ragas which are printed in the *Sangita Sampradaya Pradarsini*.

### The Sangita Darpana of Damodara (1625 A. D.)

This work was printed but the old edition gives us only two chapters. Complete manuscripts of this work are available in many libraries, e.g. Madras Government Oriental Library, Des. Cat. XXII. 13016, Tanjore,

New Cat. No. 10716-23, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute Cat. Vol. XII Nos. 320-22. Using four of the manuscripts there, the Sarasvati Mahal Library has issued more recently (1952) a very unsatisfactory edition of this work. The work is in six chapters, the last being devoted to dance. The other five deal respectively with Svāra, Rāga, Prakīrnaka, Prabandha and Vādyā. From the colophon we see that Damodara, its author, had the title 'Chatura' like Kallinatha and that he was the son of Lakshmidhara Bhatta: इति श्रीलक्ष्मीधरभट्टसुत-चतुर दामोदर विरचिते संगीतदर्पणे नृत्ताध्यायः षष्ठः ।

This work is based on Somanatha's *Rāgavibodha* and quotes in the same places the same authors and works quoted by Somanatha. Damodara wrote shortly after Somanatha.

### The Sangita Darpana of Haribhatta

The Bikaner Catalogue, (p. 527, Manuscript No. 1123), Oppert's Catalogue and Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue describe a work called *Sangita Saroddhara* by one Hari Bhatta. The work begins thus :

भरतादिमतं सर्वमालोक्यातिप्रयत्नतः ।  
श्रीमता हरिभट्टेन सज्जनानन्दहेतुना ।  
प्रचरद्रूपसंगीतसारोद्धारो विधीयते ।

This work is available in the Madras Manuscripts Library also. The text of this work is virtually the same as that of Damodara's *S. Darpana*. Perhaps Damodara had another name Hari Bhatta, or perhaps 'Hari Bhatta' is a mistake of 'Hari Bhakta' or perhaps an author named Hari Bhatta made his own version of Damodara's work. The last seems to be likely. The Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal edition of *Sangitadarpana* presents this text. The Catalogue of Manuscripts of N. W. Provinces (612) describes the work as Hari Bhatta's *Sangita Darpana*. The catalogue describes it as a work on prosody because it has mistaken the mention of Dhruvas in the work as indicating a work on metres. The *Sangita Darpana* of Damodara does not contain a separate section on Dhruvas but Hari Bhatta's version, called in some manuscripts *Sangita Saroddhara*, perhaps, contains a treatment of Dhruvas.

The Tanjore manuscript of Hari Bhatta's *Sangita Darpana* contains seven chapters, the last dealing with dance. The Madras manuscript has a Telugu Tika appended to it.

### The Sangita Kalanidhi of Hari Bhatta

From Aufrecht's *Catalogue Catalogorum* we learn that Hari Bhatta produced a work called *Sangita Kalanidhi*. The catalogue of manuscripts of the N. W. Provinces (III.80) mentions this *Sangita Kalanidhi*.

### The Sangita Saroddhara of Kikaraja

Related to the above-noticed *Sangita Saroddhara* of Hari Bhatta but obviously to be distinguished from it, is a work of the same name attributed to a writer named Kikaraja, son of Sajjana. Aufrecht notes his work as noticed in Peterson's catalogue (Search for Manuscripts, Bombay) IV. 32 and Extr. 42.

I came across a manuscript of this work in the Manuscripts Library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona (No. 838 of 1886-92). It has since been described in their Descriptive Catalogue subsequently issued, XII. 332. The manuscript is in 16 big paper sheets. The author says he was born in Kapola-anvaya as the son of one Sajjana:

सम्यगालोच्य कृतिना सज्जनानन्ददायिना ।  
कीकराजेन संगीतसारोद्धारो विधीयते ॥

This is almost identical with the verse in Hari Bhatta's text.  
Colophon:

इति श्रीमत्कपोलवंशावतंस-साधुश्री-सज्जनात्मज-सकलविद्याविशारद-महनीयचरित-महाशय-श्री शारदानन्दन-कीकराजविरचिते संगीतसारोद्धारे स्वरप्रकरणं समाप्तम् ।

'Saradanandana' is perhaps Kikaraja's title. The following authorities are given by him: Bharata, Kasyapa, Dattila, Yashtika, Arjuna, Vayu, Tumburu, Narada, Matanga, Visakhila, Kambalasvatara, Kohala, Rahala, Ravana and others. Sarngadeva's list is repeated.

The work deals with music and dance and the contents are as follows: (i) Svāra, (ii) Rāga, (iii) Prakīrna (Alāpti, Gamaka, Gayaka-gunas, Vrinda etc.), (iv) Gita or Prabandha (a big chapter), (v) Vādyā, (vi) Tala and (vii) Nritya.

Abhilasha's *Sangita Chandra* and the *Sangita Bhaskara* of King Jagajjyotirmalla and Vangamani

(1617-33 A.D.)

Jagajjyotirmalla was a King of Nepal who ruled between 1617 and 1633 A.D. He is



already known to Sanskrit scholars as the author of a commentary on Padmasri's *Nagarasarvasva*, a work on Kama-sastra. He did some valuable work in music by bringing to his court music works and writers and by himself writing on the subject. From the catalogue of manuscripts in the Nepal Palace Library by Hara Prasad Sastri (p. 260), we learn that there was one Abhilasha in South India who composed a work on music called *Sangita Chandra* and that, with great efforts, King Jagajjyotirmalla brought that *Sangita Chandra* to Nepal, even as Garuda brought amrita. At the end of the manuscript of the said *Sangita Chandra* we read :—

सन्ति यद्यपि भूयांसः ग्रन्थाः संगीतगोचराः ।  
तथापीदृशमन्यत्तु नास्तीति परिचिन्तयन् ॥  
पीयूषहरणं तादृश्यं यत्नात् विहितवान् यथा ।  
तथैतत् पुस्तकं श्लाघ्यं दूराद्दक्षिणदेशतः ।  
आजहार नृपश्रेष्ठः श्रीजगज्ज्योतिरीशिता ।

The work, says Jagajjyotirmalla, was the best among the numerous treatises on music. That one Abhilasha wrote it is clear from the introductory verse:

एवं परंपराप्राप्तनाट्यवेदार्थसंग्रहः ।  
क्रियते ह्यभिलाषेण विद्वच्चरणसेविना ॥

The work seems to be very valuable and it treats very elaborately of dance and music, beginning with the construction of the theatre etc.

निर्माणं नाट्यशालायाः अस्याः पूजाविधिक्रमः ।

It is written in prose and verse.

**Sangita Bhaskara:** (Its commentary)

After bringing this valuable work to his court from the South, King Jagajjyotirmalla called to his assistance a scholar named Vangamani and had a commentary on it called *Sangita Bhaskara* written:

नत्वा गुरुनतिगुरुन् कृती जगज्ज्योतिरवनीशः ।  
संगीतभास्करममुं कुरुते सुधियं समेत्य वंगमणिम् ॥

The last verse says that Vangamani himself wrote it at the king's order and that Vangamani was a native of Mithila:

श्रीमज्जगज्ज्योतिरधीश्वरस्य  
निर्देशमासाद्य गुणोत्तरस्य ।  
संगीतशास्त्रस्य चकार टीकां  
श्रीमैथिलो वंगमणिर्मनीषी ॥

That it is a commentary on Abhilasha's *Sangita Chandra* is known from the colophon which runs thus:

संगीतचन्द्रनामकसंगीतशास्त्रस्य व्याख्यानम् ।

The work is mostly in prose. It is available in the Nepal Palace Library and is described on p. 262 of the Nepal Darbar Library catalogue.

### **Sangita Sara Sangraha**

Still unsatisfied, King Jagajjyotirmalla himself wrote a treatise called *Sangita Sara Sangraha*, dealing with music, dance and drama, in prose and verse. The work is available, like those described above, in the Nepal Palace Library and is described on p. 263 of the catalogue of that library.

King Jagajjyotirmalla wrote also an operatic drama called *Hara-Gauri Vivaha* in the Nepalese dialect. He thus gave considerable fillip to dance and music during his reign in Nepal.

### **Ahobala's Sangita Parijata**

(17th century)

The *Sangita Parijata* of Ahobala Pandita has been published from Bengal. As pointed out in the introduction to that edition of it, the text available does not seem to be complete. While enumerating the contents, Ahobala mentions Kambala Lakshana, Vaggeyakara Lakshana, etc., but these are not found in the text. Further the work which now closes with Ragas must have had more chapters. Each chapter, according to Ahobala's statement in the beginning, is called 'Kanda' to fit in with the metaphor in the name *Parijata*. Mss. of the *Parijata* are available in many libraries and a critical edition of this important text is long overdue.

Ahobala refers to many ancient writers on music and bases his text on Hanuman's work. The name Ahobala appears to be Southern. This work was translated into the Persian in 1724 A.D. and may, therefore, be placed in the 17th century.

### **The Sangita Makaranda and the Sangita (Lasya) Pushpanjali of Veda**

(Early 17th century)

As different from the *Narada Sangita Makaranda* available now in print, we find in the Tanjore Library Catalogue and the Bikaner



Library Catalogue a work called *Sangita Makaranda* by one Veda. (3 copies, Tanjore, Burnell Cat. 60 p. a; New Cat. 10724-6; Bik. Cat., p. 520. no. iii.) See also S.R. Bhandarkar's Catalogue of Manuscripts of Rajputana and Central India (1904-5 to 1905-6), p. 54.

I have gone through the work in its manuscript in the Tanjore Library. The three manuscripts available contain only the dance chapter :

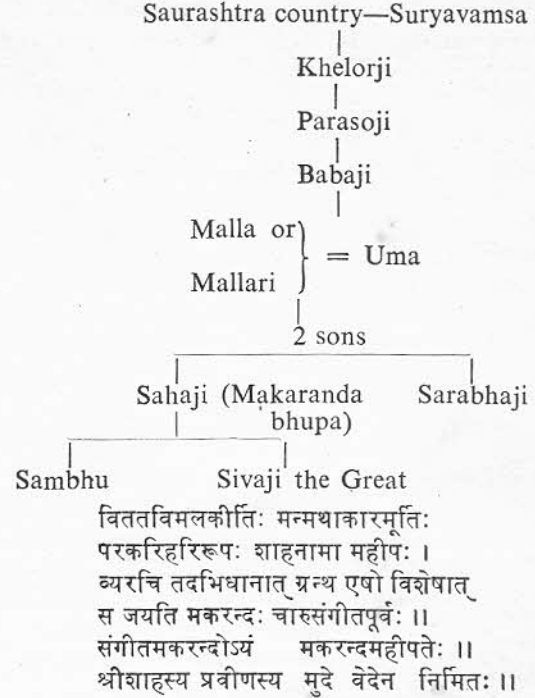
इति श्रीसंगीतमकरन्दे वेदकृतौ नृत्ताध्यायः समाप्तः ।

The Bik. Ms. also contains only the Nṛitya-dhyaya and has this same colophon. We have either only this much available or Veda's work is only on Nṛtya. We may, however, hope that the work has more chapters on music.

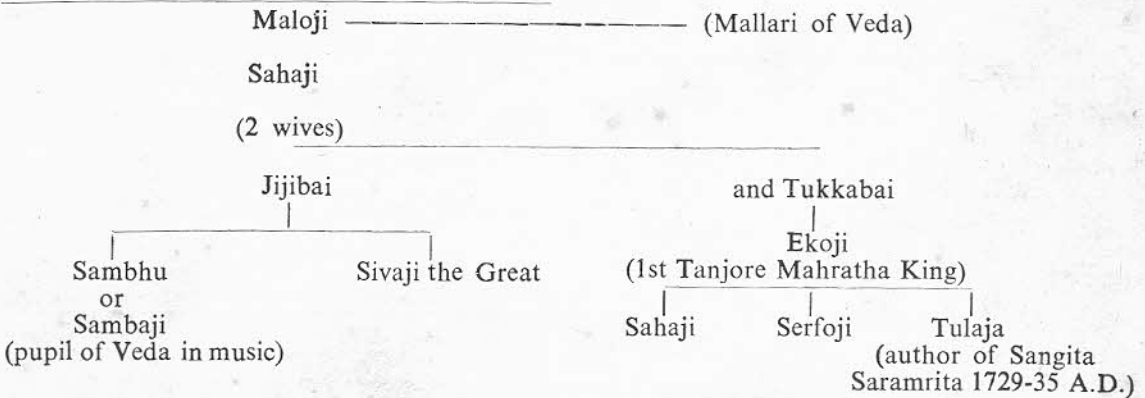
Similar is Veda's other work *Sangita (Lasya) Pushpanjali* which is available in the Tanjore and Bikaner Libraries. I read the Tanjore manuscript and found that it dealt with only the Purvaranga which precedes Nṛitya. (Tanjore New Cat. Vol. 16, no. 10674, 10714; Bik. Cat., pp. 521-522, Ms. 1113.)

While *Sangita Makaranda* treats of Rasa drishtis, Gatis, Charis, Hastas, various dances and lastly Rasas, the other work, as said above, speaks only of the dance and music of the propitiatory Purvaranga. The *Makaranda* quotes Bharata, *Sangita Ratnakara*, Kohala and

*Darpana* and gives some songs composed on Shahu, the author's patron. The work gives his patron's Vamsavali in the end:



We can compare with the above Vamsavali another supplied by Tulajendra's *Sangita Saramrita*.



Thus Sahaji, patron of Veda, the author of *Sangita Makaranda*, is the father of the great Sivaji to whose brother Sambhu, Veda was teaching music. The work thus belongs to the early part of the 17th century.

The *Makaranda* mentions in the end two musicians, one Gopala and his son. Ambapuri is said to be the place of Veda.

The manuscript of the *Pushpanjali* is full of blunders and is crumbling. From it we see that Veda wrote it after seeing Chatura Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*. This Damodara had a son named Ananta who seems to have taught music to Veda:

दामोदरश्चतुर इत्यभिधाप्रसिद्धः + + +  
तस्यात्मजोऽभवदन्तसमाह्वयोऽसौ  
वेदं मुदा तमपि पाठयदात्मसिद्धयै ॥

But according to the information in S. R. Bhandarkar's Catalogue of Manuscripts in Rajaputana and Central India, Veda is the son of Ananta, the son of Damodara. If it is correct, Veda is the grandson of the author of the *Sangita Darpana*.

### **Sangita Kalpataru**

*Subodhini*—Commentary on it by Raya Ganesa.

The author of *Sangita Kalpataru*, which seems to have been very popular, is not known. Ranganatha Dikshita, in his commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya*, quotes it once and Ruchipati quotes it five times in his commentary on the *Anargha Raghava*. From the quotations we can gather that the work resembled the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata and dealt with music, dance and drama.

The work is said to be available in Bengal, there being a notice of it in the Manuscripts Catalogue of Raendralal Mitra. Since Ranganatha Dikshita wrote his commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya* in Samvat 1712 or A. D. 1655, *Sangita Kalpataru*, we may take, was earlier than that date. If the *Sangita Kalpa Vriksha* mentioned in the *Sangitasiromani* is identical with *Sangita Kalpataru*, it should be earlier than A.D. 1428.

*Sangita Kalpataru* has a commentary on it called *Subodhini* by one Raya Ganesa Deva, written under the patronage of a king named Khadgabahu, son of Vira Simha. A manuscript of this commentary '*Kalpataru-tika Subodhini*' is described on p. 512, under No. 1094, in the Bikaner Library Catalogue.

### **Lochana Kavi's Raga Tarangini and Raga Sangita Sangraha (1700 A.D.)**

Lochana Kavi's *Raga Tarangini* is a work on North Indian music and it is printed. The author is a native of Mithila which he calls his Sva-desa. This short work deals with Ragas and is very small.

In the work *Tumburu* is quoted on the times appropriate for singing each Raga: रागानां गानकालाः तुम्बुरुनाटके । This is the only source of information for us to know that *Tumburu's* work was called *Tumburu Nataka*.

The printed edition of this work is not complete. The author says that he will give the Gitas written by Vidyapati in the Maithili vernacular but these songs are omitted in the edition. From his quotation of Vidyapati's songs, we see that Lochana Kavi is later than Vidyapati who flourished in the fourteenth century. A verse at the end of the work however gives the date as भुजवसुदशमितशाक, i.e., Saka 1082 or A.D. 1160, but according to some, this Saka is not the well-known Salivahana Saka but some local era according to the calculation of which there will be no contradiction, the date of Lochana coming to somewhere near the 17th century. Hridayanarayana seems to have utilised the *Ragatarangini* of Lochana Kavi in writing his work. Hridayanarayana is assigned to A.D. 1667.

*Raga Sangita Sangraha* is another work written by Lochana Kavi and this we know from a reference to this work by himself in his *Ragatarangini*: "एतेषां प्रपञ्चस्तु मत्कृतरागसंगीत-संग्रहेऽन्वेष्टव्यः ।"

This work therefore must be bigger than the *Ragatarangini*. I have not come across any notice of this work in any of the manuscripts catalogues.

According to the late Kshiti Mohan Sen of Santiniketan, the date 1160 A.D. is correct and the songs of Vidyapati in Lochana's *Ragatarangini* are an interpolation.<sup>1</sup>

(To be Continued in the next Bulletin)

<sup>1</sup> See *Visvabharati Quarterly*, Nov. Jan. 1943-44, pp. 249-255. Swami Prajnananda in his recent writings takes Lochana as a writer of the 16th. Cent. A. D.

## LATER SANGITA LITERATURE

By

Dr. V. Raghavan

*(This is the second and the concluding part of the revised version of Dr. Raghavan's paper originally published in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy, Volume IV, 1932)*

### The Raga Tattva Vibodha of Srinivasa Pandita Latter half of the 17th Century

This work is also available in print, and it has been recently re-edited in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda (1956). A manuscript of it is described in the Bikaner Library Catalogue. This small work contains in the beginning an interesting discussion on the ethics of music. The work is indebted to Ahobala's Parijata which belongs to the 17th century and is often quoted by Bhava Bhatta in his works. Bhava Bhatta flourished in the end of the 17th century and in the beginning of the eighteenth. Therefore, the time of Srinivasa's Raga Tattva Vibodha is the latter half of the 17th century.

### King Hridayanarayana's works : 1667 A.D.

The two works of this writer, Hridaya-prakasa and Hridayakautuka are printed. In the introductory verses is to be had some information about Hridayanarayana. He was a ruler at Garrh or Gatadurga, i.e., Jubbulpore. He ruled about 1667 A.D. He is indebted to the Raga Tarangini of Lochanakavi<sup>1</sup> and is quoted by Bhava Bhatta who flourished at the end of the 17th century. Both the works are very short and deal with Ragas only.

### Raga Manjari, Raga Kutuhala and Raga Kautuka

These three works are known to us from quotations of the three in the works of Bhava Bhatta, whom we shall notice presently. Nothing more of these three works is known. Regarding the last, Raga Kautuka, mention may be made of a work called Sangita Kautuka described in the Asiatic Society Catalogue (XVI. 69).

### King Anupa, Bhava Bhatta and their works

(End of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries)

There are available to us in print three music works called the Anupa Sangita Vilasa, Anupa Sangita Ratnakara and Anupa Sangita Ankusa by Bhava Bhatta. The works bear the mark of the name of King Anupa Simha, the patron of Bhava Bhatta. Anupa Simha was a King of Bikaner, who ruled from 1674 to 1709 A.D. He had in his court Bhava Bhatta who was very proficient and had the titles "Anushtup Chakravarti (master of the Anushtubh metre) and Sangita Raya". This Bhava Bhatta was the son of an equally distinguished father named Sangita Raya Janardana Bhatta who was the court-musician of the Mughul Emperor Shah-jehan. The colophon to the Anupa Sangita Vilasa provides us with the above information.

King Anupa Simha ordered a commentary on Gita Govinda to be written (Cat. of Manuscripts, Jammu and Kashmir, by Stein, p. 67,

<sup>1</sup>See *Visvabharati Quarterly*, November-January, 1943-4, pp. 249-255. Swami Prajnanananda in his recent writings takes Lochana as a writer of the 16th century A.D.

manuscript No. 386). He similarly ordered Bhava Bhatta to write many music works, three of which are the ones mentioned above, available to us in print. Sangita Anupa Ankusa says in the beginning :

स्तोकं मुद्रामुरीकृत्य सार्धवर्षत्रयात्मिका ।  
श्रीमदनूपसिंहान्नया ग्रन्थद्वयं कृतम् ॥  
एकोऽनूपविलासाख्योऽनूपरत्नाकरः परः ।  
अनूपांकुशनामायं ग्रन्थो निष्पाद्यतेऽधुना ॥

Bhava Bhatta says that it took him three and a half years to write these works. A manuscript of the S. Anupankusa preserved in the library of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir is dated 1892 A.D., according to the notice of Stein. This work is in two chapters, on Svara and Raga, the Raga Chapter being called Alapana Manjari.

श्रीमज्जनार्दनं नत्वा सङ्गीतार्थफलप्रदम् ।  
तन्यते भावभट्टेन रागालापनमञ्जरी ॥

इति श्री भावभट्टविरचितायाम् आलापामंजरी पंचभाष्य-  
सहितो मेघरागः समाप्तः ।

Similarly, the Raga Chapter of the other work, Anupa Sangita Ratnakara, is also called Alapa Manjari in the opening verses.

Anupa Sangita Ratnakara is also in two chapters dealing with Svara and Raga. It reproduces largely from Sarngadeva and quotes often the following works : Sangita Parijata, Ragamanjari, Ragamala, Sangita Darpana, Sadragachandrodya, Nrityanirnaya, Hridaya-prakasa, Ragatattvavibodha, Raga Kutuhala and Samkirna Ragadhyaya. The last name is most likely a reference to the text called Sankirnaraga Lakshana, mss. of which are available in the Bikaner (p. 709), the Calcutta Asiatic Society (XIV. 70) and the Poona Bhandarkar Institute Libraries (XII. 319). From a verse in the beginning we see that Bhava Bhatta wrote and attributed the work to his patron Anupa Simha :

अगाधबोधमन्थेन तेषां मतपयोनिधिम् ।  
निर्मथ्यानूपसिंहोऽयं सारोद्धारमिमं व्यधात् ॥

The name itself shows that the work is only a recast of Sarngadeva's Ratnakara.

Anupa Sangita Vilasa also bases itself on and is more or less a compilation from the works mentioned above as quoted in the Anupa Sangita Ratnakara. There is a rare instance relating to the Raga Adana, where he says that the statements regarding this Raga are his own—इयं मदुक्तिः । Other authorities quoted are: Matanga on Raganga, Sringara Hara or Sangita Sringara Hara on Tana etc., Sakalakala, i.e., Somanatha, Sangita Kalpadruma, Kallinatha's Kalanidhi, Raga Kautuka and Sangitopanishad.

Anupa Sangita Vilasa is in 3 chapters, Sruti, Svara and Raga. The work has a description of King Anupa Simha, the author and his court musician, viz. Bhava Bhatta, and a panegyric on the king in the beginning. Four verses describe Bhava Bhatta as a scholar not only in music and Bharata but also in Alankara and Tarka Sastras, as a poet and as a scholar in Mahabharata. In verses 39-44, Bhava Bhatta says that he belongs to the city called Dhavala in Abhiradesa, that his grandfather and father were Tana Bhatta and Janardana Bhatta respectively, that they belonged to Krishnatra gotra, that one Ghanasyama was the scholar who conferred upon Bhava Bhatta the title of 'Anushtup-Chakravartin' and that Shahjehan, his father's patron, gave him the title of 'Sangita Raya'. Bhava Bhatta migrated from Shahjehan's court to that of Anupa Simha where he produced his works.

#### Other unprinted works of Bhava Bhatta

Besides the three works dealt with above, Bhava Bhatta wrote three more, which we know of from the Bikaner Catalogue. One of them is Sangita Vinoda (p. 527, Bik. Cat. No. 1125). The work deals with music and dance. The last colophon, however, attributes the work to his patron Anupa Simha :

इति त्रिशतृत्यहस्ताः कथितानूपभूभुजा (?) ।

Bhava Bhatta wrote another work devoted solely to the flute called Muraliprakasa. A manuscript of it is described on p. 513, under No. 1095 in the Bikaner Catalogue and the colophon says :

इति मुरलीकर्मप्रकाशः भावभट्टकृतः समाप्तः ।

The sixth work of Bhava Bhatta has a lengthy name नष्टोद्दिष्टप्रबोधक द्रौपदीका, a treatise on



Dhrupad singing (Bik. Cat., p. 514., No. 1097). This work quotes Somanatha's Ragavibodha. The colophon runs thus:

इति भावभट्टसंगीतराय-ग्रन्थद्वयप्रवर्तितविरचित  
नष्टोद्दिष्टप्रबोधकध्रौपदीका समाप्ता ।

Bhava Bhatta must have written after 1667 A.D., the time of Hridayanarayana whom he quotes.

#### The section on Music in Basava's Siva Tattva Ratnakara (1698-1715 A.D.)

Basava Raja or Basappa was a King of the Kannada Keladi dynasty of Vira Saiva faith, which ruled in the Kannada country for about 250 years. Basappa ruled from 1698 to 1715 A.D. Following Somesvara's Abhilashitartha-chintamani, he wrote an encyclopaedia of knowledge called the Siva Tattva Ratnakara. Like the Abhilashitartha-chintamani, the Siva Tattva Ratnakara contains a sub-section on music in the arts-section. In Kallola VI, three chapters, VII to IX (6-13), deal with music, Svara, Raga, Tala and Vadya; Chap. VII deals with Nada, Svara, Grama, Murchhana. Alankara and Gamaka, Chap. VIII, with Jatis and Ragas and closes with Gayaka-lakshana; Chap. IX covers Tala and Vadya.

In the end of the section, Basava refers to some authorities on music, viz. Dattila, Nandi, Bhiringi, Kohala, Bharata, Adi Bharata, Sarngadeva and Utpala. The last perhaps is Utpaladeva the grand preceptor of Acharya Abhinavagupta. (See my previous paper on Early Sangita Literature.)

#### Chatura Sabha Vilasa

Similar compendia were compiled by other writers. There is said to be a work dealing with all the 64 arts called Chatusshashti Kala attributed to Bhoja but it has not yet come to light. A similar work dealing with all the arts flourishing in a king's court, called Chatura Sabha Vilasa, seems to exist. It is quoted by one Ramananda Narayana Sivayogi Raja in his music work called Natya Sarvasva Dipika. (p. 37, manuscript in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.) This thesaurus also treats of music.

Similarly, we hear of a thesaurus by a Venkatagiri king of the last century, which too is said to contain a large section on music.

#### King Tulaja's Sangita Saramrita

The art traditions of the Tanjore Telugu kings were kept up for a time by the succeeding Mahratta rulers. The rule of the three sons of Ekoji (the first Mahratta ruler), viz., Sahaji, Serfoji and Tukkoji *alias* Tulaja showered the greatest benefactions on scholars. Tulaja or Tukkoji who reigned between 1729-35 A.D., wrote a music work called the Sangita Saramrita of which, as I have shown elsewhere, thirteen manuscripts are available in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library. The work opens with an account of the Mahratta rulers of Tanjore.

Ekoji			
(First	Tanjore	Mahratta	King)
Sahaji	Serfoji	Tulaja	
(1684-1710 A.D.)	(1711-28 A.D.)	(1729-35 A.D.)	

(See the present writer's introduction to the Madras Music Academy edition of the Sangita Saramrita.) The work says at the outset, like all other works beginning with the Svaramelakalanidhi, that it is written by the author to bridge the gulf between Lakshya and Lakshana, practice and theory.

The following works and writers are mentioned. Sarngadeva (often), Bharata, Dhananjaya, Saubhagyalakshmikalpa, Suta Samhita and the commentary on it by Vidyananya, Matanga, Nandin, Narada, Visvavasu, Tumburu (these quotations are reproduced from Kallinatha), Venya, Kohala, Bayakara (Ramamatya), Purandaradasa, Chaturdandiprakasika of Venkatamakhin, Vitthala and Somesvara. Large portions are borrowed from Venkatamakhin's Chaturdandiprakasika, and the quotation on the Melas is particularly valuable as shown by the present writer (Journal of the Music Academy, Vol. XII, pp. 69-79). A great music master and composer named Vyasapacharya is quoted by Tulaja (pp. 158-9, Music Academy edition). An epitome of the Saramrita was published from Bombay but a complete edition of it has been brought out by the Madras Music Academy (1942). The present writer has in this edition a long introduction which deals with the author and his other writings, an analysis in English of the whole text and the Ragas described therein and other allied matters. For long the Saramrita was taken as not comprising a dance-chapter. The present writer found its valuable dance-chapter, and presented it in the introduction to the Music Academy edition of the Saramrita.



## Sangita Sastra Sankshepa or Sangraha Chudamani of Govinda

In the Adyar Library there had been a manuscript of the above name lying unnoticed. It was the late Sri K. V. Ramachandran who found out its value and made a copy of it. Subsequently the work found circulation among the scholars assembling under auspices of the Music Academy and its Conferences and the work then took its due place of prominence in the history of Carnatic music theory.

The original manuscript is in Telugu script and the work is named therein as 'Sangita Sastra Sankshepa' of Govinda, which is in accordance with the following verse in the text in the opening chapter.

रघुवीरपदाम्भोजमिलिन्दशुभचेतसा ।

गोविन्दनाम्ना संगीतशास्त्रं संक्षेपतोच्य (त उच्य) ते ॥

(P. 3, Adyar edn.)

Soon we come across two colophons mentioning two chapters of the work and informing us that the work is a part of the Skandapurana, that God Shanmukha wrote it and that it is called Sangraha Chudamani:

इति स्कान्दपुराणे संग्रहचूडामणे (णौ) षण्मुखविरचिते  
प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

After a second colophon of a similar nature, no division into chapters is seen. The first chapter gives a number of Mangala Slokas, mentions ancient writers like Bharata and briefly speaks without coherence or correctness about odd subjects of Natya. The whole work is written in absurd Sanskrit.

There is very little evidence to decide the date of the work. However, I have been able to land on this bit which mentions the Achyutarayamela Veena which, if it is a reference to Achyuta Nayaka, gives us the upper limit of the work's date as 1577-1614 A.D., the date of King Achyuta Nayaka of Tanjore:

बहवो मेलकर्तारो वर्तन्ते ह्यादि (ह्यपि) सङ्कराः ।

तेषां मध्येऽच्युते (त) रायमेलवीणानुसारतः ॥

Govinda's work represents the system now obtaining and has, therefore, superseded the Chaturdandiprakasika. The late K. V. Ramachandran, who discovered the manuscript and

its utility, considered that the work was still later and belonged, in all probability, to the time of Mr. Tachur Srirangachariar who supplied the names of the Ragas to Mr. Chinnaswamy Mudaliar.

From the corrupt manuscript a press copy was prepared by the late Subrahmanya Sastri of Tanjore, who effected many corrections in the text, and the present writer undertook its publication which, in the middle of the printing, was taken over by the Adyar Library.

As against the system of Venkatamakhi and his nomenclature Kanakambari, etc., the Sangraha Chudamani calls its Mela-kartas Kanakangi, etc., makes all the Mela ragas mechanically *sampurna* in both ascent and descent and makes the older Mela-karta Ragas like Kanakambari, which were not so, Janyas under the new ones. Manuscript copies of the list of these new Melas Kanakangi, etc., are found in the homes of musicians and libraries.

## Sangita Sangraha Chintamani of Appalacharya

The Adyar Library gives us one more manuscript in which we find another irregular work called the Sangita Sangraha Chintamani by one Appalacharya. The manuscript contains only the Tala chapter and part of the Nartana chapter of the work. The author is known from this verse at the beginning of the Nartanadhyaya.

श्रीमुष्णाप्पलयज्ज्वेन्द्रसूनुनाप्पलसूरिणा ।

तन्यते संग्रहः पद्यपुण्य ? चिन्तामणिः स्वयम् ॥

(Then in Tamil: enradu Srimushnam Appala Nayinar Kumarar Appala Naiyinarale Sangraha-chintamani pannappattadu.)

The work is in the same manner all through, in Sanskrit verses followed by a Tamil gloss. The author is Appalacharya, son of Appalacharya, of the village of Srimushnam near Chidambaram.

At the end of the Nartanadhyaya we are informed that one Narayana Vadhyar of Madura made this copy from the original manuscript of Raghunatha Nattuvanar (dance-master) for the sake of another Nattuvanar named Sankaramurti.

The work may be assigned to the 19th century.

### Meladhikaralakshana

This is an anonymous music work found in the Tanjore Library (New cat. Nos. 10846-7), with which the music world is familiar through a critical review of its contents in Vol. I, No. I of the Journal of the Madras Music Academy by Sri T.L.Venkatarama Iyer. According to Sri T.L.Venkatarama Iyer, the work is "a comparatively recent production not earlier than the 18th century". The author, who is not known, takes up and enlarges Venkatamakhin's system. It gives 24 srutis and the chief feature of this work is said to lie in this respect. The work is written in poor Sanskrit.

Having dealt with South Indian works on Carnatic music, produced upto recent times, we shall now go to the works produced in other parts of India, which are more specifically devoted to Hindustani music.

### Sangita Damodara of Subhankara

For a long time, only some meagre reference was available to this work and of its two manuscripts available in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, and India Office, London (No. 1124). A manuscript of it was also described by R. L. Mitra in his Notices, Vol. I, p. 219.

Later a manuscript of it came to be known in the Public Library, Nabadwip, and another in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, transcripts from both of which have been secured by the present writer. Recently another manuscript of it has been reported to have come into the collection in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and an edition based on this single ms. has been brought out by that college.

In Vol. XXII of the Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, A. Danielou gave an account of this work (pp. 129-131). The following is based on the present writer's personal examination of the transcripts of two of the manuscripts mentioned above.

The India Office manuscript was copied in A.D. 1722 and the Asiatic Society manuscript in A.D. 1873. The former date gives us the lower limit to the date of the composition of this work. The author Subhankara says in the concluding verses of his work that he was the son of Sridhara and Subhadra. In the beginning

he enumerates the following music and dance works : *Natyalocana*, *Sangita Kalpavriksha*, *Dasarupaka*, *Natyadarpana*, *Sangita-natoragi* (or *S. Natabhujangi*), *Sangitamuktavali*, and *Narada's work* (*Pancamasarasamhita*?). In the course of the work, he quotes *Sangitaratnakara*, *Bharatasamhita* (?), *Tumburunataka*, *Matanga* and *Nandin*. It is clear that from this work, some material is drawn by *Lochana Pandita* author of the *Ragatarangini* which we assigned above C. 1700 A.D. The work is in five chapters and covers music, dance, drama and *Rasas* and related topics.

### Subhankara's Hastamuktavali

At four places in the body of the work and at the end of the work again, Subhankara mentions his other work solely devoted to dance, *Hastamuktavali*. After some brief notes on this work and attempts to print it, an edition was prepared by Sri Maheswar Neog of Gauhati University for the Journal of the Madras Music Academy where it has been appearing from its XXIVth volume onwards. Dr. Neog has pointed out<sup>1</sup> in his introduction to the above edition that *Sukladhvaja* (died C.1580)<sup>2</sup> brother and minister of *Naranarayana* of *Cooch Behar*, has quoted from the *Sangita Damodara* in his *Saravati-commentary* on the *Gita-Govinda*. The *Hastamuktavali*, as its name signifies, deals elaborately with *Hastabhinaya* and besides the further enrichment of the *hastas* themselves, the work devotes special attention to the *prayoga* of the *hastas* in their several meanings.

In the Nepal Darbar Library there is a commentary on this work, *Hastamuktavali*, written by one *Ghanasyama* in A.D. 1675.

The present writer has collated the above mentioned edition with a London manuscript of the text and with these collations, the edition will shortly be issued by the Music Academy, Madras.

Regarding the date of Subhankara, the author of the two above-noted works, we have the following data :

Asiatic Society manuscript—date of copying  
A.D. 1873.

<sup>1</sup>Supplement to Vol. XXIX of the Journal of the Madras Music Academy, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>See Dr. S. N. Sarma on 'Two Orissan Commentaries on the Gita Govinda', same journal, Vol. XXV, pp. 130ff.

India Office manuscript—date of copying  
A.D. 1722

Lochana Pandita borrowing from him  
C. 1700

Ghanasyama's commentary on his  
Hastamuktavali A.D. 1675

Sukladhvaja's quoting from him. He died  
in 1580.

From these and the upper limit indicated  
by the works quoted by Subhankara, we may  
suppose that he flourished between the 14th  
and 16th centuries.

Both the works of Subhankara were in  
much vogue in Eastern India, Mithila, Nepal,  
Bengal and Assam; they were esteemed in  
Orissa also as the Sangita Narayana and the  
composer Kalankura quote the Sangitadamo-  
dara.

### Sangita Kaumudi

Sangita Narayana and Sangita Sarani quote  
a work called Sangita Kaumudi or simply  
Kaumudi which is the same as the work found  
in a manuscript available in the Madras  
Government Oriental Manuscripts Library  
(Trien. Cat. 1922-23 to 24-25, No. R. 4163).

The work is short, extending to only 25 pages  
in the manuscript. The contents of its eight  
chapters are: 1. Svara. 2. Raga. 3, 4, 5. Tala.  
6. Graha, etc., 7. Prabandha. 8. Natya. The  
last chapter thus deals with dance.

In the Prabandha chapter (p. 17) the work  
quotes a song on the ten Avatars of Vishnu  
in which appears the name of King Sanasena  
as its author:

श्रीमद्गोविन्दपादारविन्द [ वन्द्य ] मधुपानमधुपायमान  
सानसेन-वीरवरनरपतिना विरचितः भगवतो वासुदेवस्य  
लीलाकलापकलित-पदबन्ध-प्रबन्धवरो दशावताराख्य इति ।

Many more songs of this King are quoted  
and if we can identify this King, we can have  
some clue to the date of Sangita Kaumudi.  
The work seems to have been produced in  
Orissa.

### Harinayaka Suri

Harinayaka is a writer who is known to us  
from quotations in all the Oriya writers' works,

the Sangita Narayana of King Narayana, the  
Sangita Sarani of poet Narayana etc. All of  
them consider him a great authority. Hari-  
nayaka is given as one of his authorities by  
King Narayana :

संगीतसार-हरिनायक-रत्नमाला-  
गीतप्रकाश-मुखदर्शितवर्मनैव ।

Numerous quotations from Harinayaka's  
work are found in Sangita Narayana. On  
p. 16 of the Sangita Narayana, Harinayaka is  
quoted to say that Jatis are 18 in number and  
that they are the "mothers", so to say, of Ragas:

तदुक्तं हरिनायकेन—

शुद्धाभिविकृताभिश्च मिलित्वा जातयः पुनः ।

अष्टादश समुद्दिष्टाः ता रागाणां च मातरः ॥ इति ॥

On p. 49 he is quoted on Sankirna Ragas.  
This is a long extract from Harinayaka's work.  
On p. 54 his definitions of Anibaddha Gita  
and Alapa are given:

हरिनायकस्तु अनिबद्धमाह—

आलप्तिरनिबद्धं स्यात् रागालापनरूपिणी ॥

In the Prabandhadhyaya he is quoted many  
times. Narayana says that Harinayaka has  
described many difficult and rare Prabandhas  
in his work from Bharata's treatise and the  
illustrations of these are to be found in the  
Gita Prakasa.

### Kalankura Nibandha

In the Madras Govt. Oriental Manuscripts  
Library (Trien. Cat. 1919-20 to 21-22) there is  
a work called Raga Malika described under  
No. 3176a. According to the catalogue, the  
work contains Oriya songs—Odhra-gitisahita.  
From the colophon to the manuscript des-  
cribed next to this under No. 3176b, we see  
that one Kaviratna Kalankura wrote in Oriya  
language a new version of the Raga chapter  
of Damodara's Sangita Darpana adding to it  
Oriya songs:

दामोदरेण स्वग्रन्थे यथोक्ता रागमालिका ।

कलांकुरेण च तथा कविरत्नेन भाषया ॥

The work itself seems to be called Kalan-  
kura Nibandha. On the Murti of the Raga



Sabari, the Sangita Narayana quotes it so:

मूर्तिस्तु कलाङ्कुरनिबन्धे-

श्रीखण्डशैलशिखरे शिखिबर्हदामा ।

It is further quoted in the same work on the Murtis of the Ragas Abhiri and Khampavati.

On pp. 84 and 85 King Narayana quotes one guru of his named Kaviratna.

अस्मद्गुरु कविरत्नमिश्र etc.

The quotation gives Sangraha Slokas for Talas. It is likely that this Kaviratna, contemporary and teacher of King Narayana, is identical with the author of Kalankura Nibandha.

### Krishnadatta

Of this writer nothing else is known except that he is quoted as a writer on music in Narayana's Sangita Narayana. The name of his work is not known. On p. 30 of Sangita Narayana he is quoted to say that it is the Raga Devakriya that is also called Suddha Vasanta.

इयमेव शुद्धवसन्त इति कृष्णदत्तः ।

### Vachaspati

Among the numerous writers quoted in Sangita Narayana, we come across one Vachaspati. It is not known whether he is really a historical personage who lived and wrote before or near the time of King Narayana or the name refers to some work in the name of Brhaspati the mythical guru of the Devas.

Two quotations from it are found in the Sangita Narayana. The first is on Tala and the second, the following, on Laya.

गीतवाद्यपदन्यसत्रयाणां समता मिथः ।

तथा क्रियाकालयोर्वा लय इत्युच्यते बुधैः ।

इति वाचस्पतिः ।

**Poet Purushottama Misra, King Narayana of Parlakhimedi and the Sangita Narayana**

(Last quarter of the 18th century)

The Sangita Narayana of King Narayana, King of Parlakhimedi, or of the Khimundi line, has now been made familiar by repeated

mention above. It has been the greatest source of our knowledge of a large number of works written in Orissa which we have noticed above. Under his patronage and after his time, a large literature in music, both Lakshya and Lakshana, grew up in Utkal.

The Sangita Narayana is available in the Madras Manuscripts Library. Trien. Cat. 1919-20 to 21-22, manuscript No. R. 3235, contains its first two chapters and Trien. Cat. 1922-25, R. 4212, contains the remaining two chapters. The work is in four chapters.

Chap. I. Nada, Sruti, Svara, Grama, Raga, Gita and Tala.

Chap. II. Vadya

Chap. III. Nritya

Chap. IV. Prabandhas.

The work has travelled far and we see a copy of it described in the catalogue of manuscripts of Jammu and Kashmir. The works quoted by it are : Narada Samhita, i.e., Panchama Sara Samhita, Mammata's Sangita Ratnamala, the commentary on the musical composition called Gopagovinda, Lakshmana Bhatta's commentary on Gita Govinda, Kohaliya, Matanga, Sarngadeva, Sangita Siromani, Sangita Sara, S. Kaumudi, Gita Prakasa, Harinayaka Suri, Damodara, Vachaspati, Kalankura-nibandha, S. Chandrika and S. Kalpataru. All these have been noticed above.

The author of the work shows his wide learning by quoting, in other branches of knowledge, Vishnupurana, Kavyaprakasa, Chando Ratnakara and the Parasara Samhita on archery. The king had in his court many poets and scholars, one of whom is his guru Purushottama Misra who had the title Kavi Ratna. Purushottama was himself a great composer and his son Narayana wrote a music work called S. Sarani. The compositions of Purushottama are quoted in the Prabandha-chapter of the S. Narayana, where he is mentioned as Narayana's guru. The musical compositions of Purushottama, gathered from these quotations as also from quotations in his son's S. Sarani, are the following :

i. *Ramachandrodaya-prabandha*. Ramayana songs. Two songs from it are quoted on pp. 74 and 88. The songs have the Mudra of the author's name Purushottama.

ii. *Balaramayana-prabandha*. This is quoted by his son (on p. 16 Mad. manuscript) on his S. Sarani.

अयं ध्रुवलक्षणः । अस्योदाहरणं यथा कविरत्नपुरुषोत्तम-  
मिश्राणां बालरामायणप्रबन्धे दक्षिणश्रीरागेण ।

iii. *Ramabhyudaya-prabandha*. (p. 20, S. Sarani.) It must be taken that the S. Narayana, though attributed to his patron King Narayana, was written by Purushottama himself. The introductory verses and the colophons speak of the king as its author. The colophon runs thus :

इति श्रीमन्नीलान्वयोतुङ्गगङ्गवंशावतंस अशेषगुणसम्पन्ननाभ  
भूमीपतितनूजन्मनः महाराजाधिराजस्य साहित्यसंगीतार्णव  
कर्णधारकमणेः गजपतिवीरश्रीनारायणदेवस्य कृतौ  
संगीतनारायणे गीतनिर्णयो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ।

But, in the Notices of the Rajendralal Mitra manuscripts catalogued by Hara Prasad Sastri, this Sangita Narayana, is described as the work of Narayana's guru Purushottama Kaviratna.

#### Alankara Chandrika

In the name of Narayana there are other works also. Alankara Chandrika is one of them. It is not a work on poetics but on the Alankaras in singing. This special work on Alankaras by him is quoted by him on p. 15 of his S. Narayana.

इति प्रसिद्धान्काराः पञ्चाशत् परिकीर्तिताः ।  
ग्रन्थविस्तरताभीतेः मया नेह प्रकीर्तिताः ॥  
मत्कृत-अलंकारचन्द्रिकायां सर्वे प्रपञ्चिताः ॥

Most likely Purushottama is the real author of this work also. Besides this there are quoted in the S. Narayana some songs bearing the authorship-mudra of King Narayana Gajapati.

Sangita Narayana is quoted in later works of Orissa like Sangita Sarani and the Kavi-chintamani.

The work opens with an account of the dynasty of King Narayana who belongs to the Ganga dynasty. He was the son of Padmanabha. According to Banerjee's History of Orissa (Vol. II, p. 120) a Narayana of Parlakhimedi

attacked King Virakisora of the house of Khurda, who ruled upto A.D. 1779. R. Sewell, in Archaeological Survey of South India (part II, p.186) mentions a Viraprataparudra Narayana Deva, son of Padmanabha as having lived between 1748 and 1766 A.D. Almost all the Khimedi chiefs have the name Narayana and identification of this writer is, therefore, rather difficult.

#### The Sangita Sarani of Poet Narayana

As noted above, Poet Narayana, son of the guru of King Narayana, i.e., of Purushottama, wrote a music work called the Sangita Sarani, which is available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. (Trien. Cat. 1919-22, R.3298.) The introductory verses and the colophon give some information about the author, his father etc.

नारायणाख्यमिश्रेण कविरत्नेन यत्नतः ।

वितायते सतां प्रीत्यै संगीतसरणिः स्फुटा ॥

इति श्री शाण्डिल्यवंशावतंसायितसकलशास्त्रकुशल  
संगीतसाहित्यविद्याणवकर्णधारकविरत्नपुरुषोत्तममिश्रस्य  
आत्मजेन कविरत्ननारायणमिश्रेण विरचितायां  
संगीतसरणी गीताभिधानं नाम प्रथमः प्रवेशः समाप्तः ।

The work is called the 'Road to Music' and so its chapters are called 'Pravesas', i.e., 'approaches'. He quotes the S. Narayana of his father or patron and all the writers quoted therein.

S. Sarani quotes also poet Narayana's own musical compositions as also those of his father. Poet Narayana is a prolific composer. His musical poems are :

i. *Balabhadravijaya-prabandha*: A song in Dhanasi Raga from this is quoted on p. 13.

ध्रुवलक्षणतालस्य उदाहरणमाह- यथा मम बलभद्रविजय-  
प्रबन्धे धनासिरागेण

More songs from this are given on pp. 17 and 20.

ii. *Sankaravihara-prabandha*:

मण्डलक्षण-आदितालस्योदाहरणं यथा—मम शङ्करविहार-  
प्रबन्धे मल्लारारामेण



Songs from this are quoted on pp. 14, 16, 18 and 19.

iii. *Ushabhilasha-prabandha* is quoted on p. 17.

iv. *Krishnavilasa-prabandha* is quoted on pp. 30-34.

यथा मम श्रीकृष्णविलासप्रबन्धे देशाख्यरागेण चञ्चत्पुटतालेन  
The song ends thus: नवनागदलितं मेदिनीजातकलितं  
श्रीकृष्णविलासाभिधं शुद्धप्रबन्धं कविरत्न नारायणमिश्रो  
विरचितवानिति ।

Narayana speaks of two varieties of Prabandhas, Suddha-prabandhas and Sutra-prabandhas. All compositions of his father belong to the former class, as also the four above referred to compositions of Narayana himself. A Suddha-prabandha is like the Gita Govinda, with the several songs in it set to different Ragas. As different from this, the second variety of Sutra-prabandha is sung to the end in only one fixed Raga. Says Narayana on p. 38:

सूत्रप्रबन्धः कथितः एकरागनिवेशितः ।

सूत्रस्य एकरागनिबद्धत्वेन प्रबन्धधर्माङ्गालापघटितत्वेन च  
सूत्रप्रबन्धत्वं ज्ञेयम् ।

Narayana composed musical poems of this class also. Two of them, he quotes in his Sangita Sarani.

v. *Gundichavijaya-sutra-prabandha*: Gundicha is a festival of the deity Jagannatha in the place near the shrine called Nilagiri; this place is at the end of the Car-road in front of the temple; the composition is on a special Yatra taking place there and is in Sanskrit mixed with Oriya.

एतस्योदाहरणं यथा मम गुण्डिचाविजयसूत्रे भैरवदेशाख्य-  
रागेण ध्रुवलक्षणादिः ।

vi. *Ramabhyudaya-sutra-prabandha*:

“मम रामाभ्युदयसूत्रप्रबन्धः ; तत्र धनासिरागेण  
आदिः ।

This *Ramabhyudaya* is a Sutra-prabandha whereas his father's *Ramabhyudaya*, referred to previously, is a Suddha-prabandha.

The Sutra-prabandha which is a composition to be sung in a single Raga throughout is the Raga Kavya of old, which is a variety of

Uparupaka or semi-dramatic or operatic composition described by Kohala. It is described by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the Natya Sastra. He gives two instances of this Raga Kavya. Abhinavagupta says that the Raga Kavya called *Raghava Vijaya* is sung throughout only in Thakka Raga and the Raga Kavya called *Marichavadha*, only in Kakubha-Grama-raga.

‘तथा हि राघवविजयस्य हि टक्करागेणैव विचित्र-  
वर्णनीयत्वेऽपिनिर्वाहः; मारीचवधस्य ककुभग्रामरागेणैव ।  
अत एव रागकाव्यानीत्युच्यन्ते ।

### Sangita Kamada

The Adyar Library contains a music work of this name. It is a work belonging to this class of treatises produced in Orissa. The manuscript is in Oriya script. (Adyar Cat. Vol. 2, p. 46).

### The Kavichintamani of Gopinatha Kavibhhusana

Kavichintamani is a work mainly on poetics and dramaturgy but it devotes its last chapter, the 24th, to music. In this last chapter, Sangita Nirupana, the Sangita Narayana and most of the writers quoted therein are quoted.

The author Gopinatha has written many musical compositions in Sanskrit and Oriya. One Sanskrit musical poem of his called *Rama Vihara Gita* is twice referred to in Chapters 1 and 3.

पूर्वैरामविहारगीतमतुलं राज्ञां सदोमण्डनं

सत्काव्यं सरसोत्कलीयवचनैः युक्तं मयोक्तं महत् ।

He cites this *Ramachandra Vihara* of his as an example of a Gita Kavya.

The work is described in the Madras Trien. Cat. 1919-22, R. 2925. The first 23 chapters on Alankara and drama quote numerous Alankara works. Gopinatha is the son of Vasudeva Patro of Karana family, who was the guru and court physician of King Jagannatha Narayana.

इति श्रीखिमुण्डिमहाराज्येश्वरगंगवंशावतंस वीर श्री  
गजपति जगन्नाथ नारायणदेव महाराज विद्वत्सभाराजित  
प्रबन्धकविताप्रकाशक करणकुलसंभव कविभिषग्वर  
वासुदेवपात्रतनय श्रीमद्गोपीनाथकविभूषणकृतौ कवि-  
चिन्तामणौ कविभेदादिनिरूपणं नाम प्रथमः किरणः ।

Many were the Khimundi Zamindars who, as already stated, had the name Narayanadeva. We have three chiefs of the name Jagannatha Narayanadeva, according to the genealogical list in Sewell's Archeological Survey of South India (Part II, p. 186).

Sarvajna Jagannatha Narayanadeva  
1686-1702 A.D.

Jagannatha Narayanadeva  
1766-1806 A.D.

Jagannatha Gajapati Narayanadeva  
1843-1850 A.D.

It is likely that the second of these three is the patron of Gopinatha.

### Tanadhikara

The Sangita Narayana similarly quotes on Tana, on p. 14:

तदुक्तं तानाधिकारे, तानाः पञ्चसहस्राणि त्रयस्त्रिं-  
शद्भवन्त्यमी । इति ।

From the name it is not possible to decide that Tanadhikara is a separate work. It may be the chapter on Tana in some well-known work.

### Sangita Siromani

King Narayana quotes a Siromani in his S. Narayana (p. 4, Mad. Manuscript). Again on p. 55 it is quoted by Narayana on the three Avayavas of a Prabandha.

तदुक्तं शिरोमणौ—

उद्ग्राहः प्रथमः पादः कथितः पूर्वसूरिभिः ।

ध्रुवत्वाच्च ध्रुवो मध्ये आभोगश्चान्तिमः स्मृतः ॥

From its being quoted more than once in the dance-chapter we can see that the work dealt with dance also.

Extensive and informative extracts are given from the beginning of the ms. of this work in the Asiatic Society Catalogue (Vol. XVI) and there is also a detailed notice of this work in a paper of the late Shri M. R. Kavi<sup>1</sup>. The Sultan of Kadah, who sponsored this work and at whose instance Pandits compiled it, is mentioned as Malik Sarak Sultan Sahar, son of

Bahadur Malik, and subordinate of Ibrahim (c. 1409-1414) who invaded Bengal and re-established Islam there.

आगौडादुज्ज्वलं राज्यमिवराहिमहीभुजः ।

अस्यैव सार्वभौमस्य प्रतापात्पृथिवीपतिः ॥

मलिकस्सुलताशाहिः मध्यदेशाधिपोऽभवत् ।

गंगायमुनयोर्मध्ये गंगाया विपुले तटे ॥

कडारव्यं नगरं तस्य वेण्या योजनपञ्चके ।

\* \* \*

ईशिता नगरस्यास्य \* \* \*

बहादुर मलिक् तस्य पुत्रो ग्रन्थमचीकरोत् ॥

Just as later it is said by Jagajyotirmalla of Nepal, it is said that this Sultan also brought a copy of Bharata's text from the South, as also other texts on music from other parts of India. And here the work gives a list of the music texts used in it and the rarer among these names may be noted:

1. Sangitasagara; 2. Sangitadipika; 3. Vadimattagajankusa; 4. Talarnava; 5. Sangita-kalpavriksha; 6. Sangitamudra; 7. Sangita-sarakalika; 8. Sangitavinoda which may be the Sangita Vidyavinoda noted elsewhere in this paper; 9. Manohara which may be the Manamohara quoted in the Sangitamuktavali of Devana; 10. Bharati (?); 11. the commentary Balabodhana. The Pandits were brought from all parts of India, given villages and money and asked to compile this work.

पौरस्त्यान् दाक्षिणात्यांश्च पाश्चात्यानुत्तरोद्भवान् ।

पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञानं संगीतार्थविशारदान् ॥

आनाय्य पण्डितानुच्चैः \* \* \* ।

सत्कृत्याह स्म संगीतग्रन्थाः संपादिता मया ॥

ग्रन्थेनाल्पेन सर्वेषामेतेषामर्थसंग्रहम् ।

कुश्ध्वमैकमत्येन निश्चितार्था विपश्चितः ॥

The colophon also says that the work was the joint production of these experts from different parts of India:

इति श्रीमलिकशरकश्रीमुलितानशाहेरादेशेन नानादेशीय-  
पण्डितमण्डलीविरचिते संगीतशिरोमणौ तानप्रकाशः ।

The exact date of the compilation of this work is also given in the text.

<sup>1</sup> "Indian Music under a Sultan", Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, XI, iii-iv, pp. 173-186.

इबराहीम सम्राजि शकराज्यं प्रशासति ।  
वर्षे चतुर्दशशते पञ्चाशीत्यधिके गते ॥  
वैक्रमांके, खवाणाग्निशशिसंख्ये च शाकके ॥

i.e. Samvat 1485 and Saka 1350 which come to A.D. 1427-8. According to the table of contents furnished in the work, it dealt with the whole field of music, as also with dance.

Of the rarer works mentioned here and noted above, the *Vadimattagajankusa* is found in a ms. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Catalogue Vol. XII, No. 310, known also as *Gitalankara*.

प्रणम्य भरतो भक्त्या सर्वदं शिवदं शिवम् ।  
गीतस्य लक्षणं प्राह वादिमत्तगजाङ्कुशम् ॥  
इति भरतकृतं गीतालंकारं वादिमत्तगजाङ्कुशम् समाप्तमिति ।

See also No. 68, Asiatic Society Catalogue XVI, the ms, described under the title *Ganasastra* and the Nepal Darbar Catalogue I, p. 241.

*Sangitakalpadruma* and *Sangitasarakalika* are noticed elsewhere in this paper.

#### The Sangita Sagara of Pratap Singh 1770-1804 A.D.

Maharaj Pratapa Simha Deva of Jaipur who ruled between 1779-1804 A.D., was a great music-enthusiast. He is said to have brought together a number of music experts and produced a music work called *Sangita Sagara*, which work, by reason of his patronage of its many authors, is attributed to him.

#### Rudra-damarudbhava Sutra Vivaranam

The Bikaner Catalogue (p. 519, No. 1107) mentions an interesting music work of the above name. Sanskrit Vyakarana Sastra says that its alphabet in the Sutras अइउण् etc. are called Mahesvara Sutras because they emanated from the Nada manifested by Rudra by his hand-drum, damaru, which he sounded at the end of his dance. There is also this well-known verse on it:

नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजः ननाद ढक्कां नवपंचवारम् ।  
उद्धर्तुं कामः सनकादिसिद्धान् एतद्विमर्शो शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

Nandikesvara, it is mentioned in the Vyakarana-commentary named *Balamanorama*, commented upon these Mahesvara Sutras. This is evidently a reference to the work called *Nandikesvarakasika*.

Every aspect of Nada was made manifest from Lord Nataraja who dances the great cosmic dance. Siva is the God of Vyakarana, of dance and of music. The work now under notice, viz., the Rudra Damarudbhava Sutra Vivarana tries to give an exposition of above legend of the origin of these Sutras and of the Sutras themselves as the basic sounds of music as derived from Siva's hand-drum Dhakka. The author of the work is not known. The whole text of this was presented as found in the Bikaner manuscript by K. M. K. Sarma in the New Indian Antiquary, June 1943, pp. 64-67, and in the same journal, January 1944, pp. 235-6, the present writer published a critical note on the text reconstructing the corrupt passages and throwing light on the real nature of this work. It was shown there that the bulk of the 45 verses here were taken from the *Sangita-ratnakara*. With some it has become fashionable to exaggerate such mystic and high sounding textual materials. Alain Danielou has presented the text with a translation in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy, XXII, pp. 119-128.

#### Asoka Malla's Work

We know of a writer on music named Asoka Malla from the Bikaner Catalogue (p. 514, manuscript 1098). The name of his work is not known. It treats of music and dance but only its chapter on dance is available in the Bikaner Library. It mentions a source called *Sudhabdhi* and stops with the description of 22 kalasams.

#### Bharata Nama Dipaka Nada Sastram

A work with this cumbrous name in hundred and eleven verses, dealing with dance and music, is described in the Nepal Darbar Library Catalogue (p. 231). Its author is not known.

#### Sangita Sudhanidhi

This is a work on music of which we know only from a citation from it in Raghava Bhatta's commentary on the *Sakuntala* (p. 185, Kale's Edn.). The work must have dealt with music and dance, the quotation by Raghava Bhatta being on *Aharyabhinaya* (make-up) which pertains to *Natya*.



### Sangita Kalpadruma

A Sangitakalpataru has already been noticed; a S. Kalpavriksha is mentioned in the S. Siromani (1428 A.D.). Aufrecht mentions a S. Kalpadruma and says that it is described in a Panjab Catalogue (Radh. 38). A Sangita Kalpadruma is quoted by Bhava Bhatta and two mss. of a S. Kalpadruma are available in the Ramsingh Library, Srinagar (Nos. 1885 and 1890). There is also a S. Raga Kalpadruma by one Krishnananda-vyasa of the 19th century, a ms. which is described in the Bhandarkar Institute Catalogue, XII, 330, and another is available in the Palace Library, Kotah State.

### Sangita Chandrodaya

Many Sanskrit authorities are quoted by Gangaram in his Hindi Commentary on the S. Ratnakara. One of the Sanskrit works here quoted is the Sangita Chandrodaya. It is twice quoted in the Svaradhyaya portion.

संगीतचन्द्रोदये—

सर्वत्र षड्जग्रह एव रागे

रक्त्यैकहेतोः निधपादियोगे ।

वर्णाः प्रयोज्या न तु नवरादश्च

ता मूर्च्छनाः षड्जभवा ह्यदोषाः ॥

It is again quoted as his authority on p. 66 (Tanjore Ms). The verse quoted defines the gamaka called Prenkhaka and runs thus:

यत्र स्वरद्वन्द्वमुदीर्यं पूर्वं

पूर्वेण युक्तं स्वरमग्रयसंस्थम् ।

आन्दोल्यमानं च यथाक्रमेण

रोहेदसौ प्रेखकनामधेयः ॥

### The Taladasapranadipika of Govinda

In Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue, a work of the above name attributed to one Govinda is noted. One is likely to mistake it for a theoretical treatise on Tala. I went through the work and found it to be a poem in Telugu, in the form of songs on Sri Rama, each song, however, being illustrative of a Tala. Just as we have Bhattikavya, a poem illustrating the Vyakarana Sastra, so also we have here a poem for Tala. It is a ताललक्षण महाकाव्य । The colophon calls it a महाभरतलक्षणकाव्यम् and तालदशप्राणदीपिका । इति श्री रामभद्रायत-करुणाकटाक्षवीक्षणतिशयसंलब्ध सारस्वतविचित्र बालूरिय्योयामात्य (पोलूरियुज्यामात्य

according to the second colophon). पुत्र सकल सज्जनविधेय गोविन्दनामधेयप्रणीतं तालदशप्राण-प्रदीपिकयन्तु महाभरतलक्षणकाव्यं बुनन्दु प्रथमाऽवासम् ।

Thus this work is similar to Tippa Bhupala's Talaprabandha, a music composition on Siva illustrating each Tala, which we noticed above under the title Taladipika. Similarly we have the Tala Malika compositions on 108 Talas, of which 56 are available in print, of Ramaswami Dikshitar, father of the celebrated Carnatic composer, Muthusvami Dikshitar.

### The Natya Chudamani or Svara Raga Sudha Rasa of Somanarya

The Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library contains two mss. of a work called Natya Chudamani by one Somanarya, one a fragment of the Svaradhyaya and the next chapter and the other containing a longer portion of the work. They are respectively described under Nos. R. 366 in the Trien. Cat. 1910-11 to 12-13 and D. 12998 in the Des. Cat. Vol. XXII. The latter ms. is accompanied by a Telugu gloss.

The work deals with all branches of music and dance. Its author Somanarya is an Ashtavadhani, one who can attend to eight things at a time. He says:

अष्टावधानविख्यातसोमनार्येण वक्ष्यते ।

नाट्यचूडामणिर्नाम ग्रन्थो विबुधसंमतः ॥

A fragment of this work was secured from private possession by the late P. S. Sundaram Aiyar of Tanjore and produced as the Svaranava connected with Sri Tyagayya's life (vide my article on 'Some more Early Writers on Music' in Vol. III of the Journal of the Madras Music Academy).

Some of the followers of the Tyagaraja tradition say that three works Svaranava, Ragarnava and Sudharnava or Sudhambudhi are referred to by Tyagaraja in his Kirtana 'Svara-raga-sudha-rasa', but I had already pointed out that this supposition was not sensible and that we had in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library a ms. having the name 'Svara-raga-sudha-rasa'. Its Tala chapter with a Telugu Tika is described in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library, Des. Cat. Vol. XXII,

R. 12998. This Svvara-raga-sudha-rasa is the same work as the Natya Chudamani of Somanarya, for we find in the beginning of the Ragadhyaya Somanarya calling his work by that name.

संगीतशास्त्रात् संगृह्य स्वररागसुधारसम् ।  
अष्टावधानविख्यात सोमनार्येण वक्ष्यते ॥

The colophon also says so:

इति स्वररागसुधारसाख्ये गीताध्यायः समाप्तः ।

Regarding the date of the work, we can only say that it is later than that of the author of Ragavibodha, Somanatha (1609 A.D.), who is quoted in the section called Chaturanga-prastara in the Raga chapter.

सोमनाथमते प्रोक्तं द्वात्रिंशद्भागलक्षणम् ।

The fact may be that it is a still later production.

#### Raga Pradipa

There is a work of this name available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library (Trien. Cat. 1913-16, R. 1728). Its author is not known. The ms. is incomplete. The work deals with Ragas only. In Chap. I, it first enumerates the Ragas by their names and then describes 36 Suddha-madhyama Ragas.

इति शुद्धमध्यमरागाः षट्त्रिंशत् । इति रागप्रदीपे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

Chap. II is devoted to Prati-madhyama Raga. Thus this seems to be a very late production dealing with the 72 Melas of Carnatic music.

#### Arjunadimata Sara of Suddha Sattva Venkatacharya

Another work on music and dance available in the Madras Oriental Library is Suddha Sattva Venkatacharya's compilation from various older books. Though it is called Bharata Sastra it treats of music elaborately. Chapters 1 and 2 deal with Natya and 2 and 5 with Tala. The work is unfortunately incomplete.

#### Varnalaghuvyakhya of Rama

One Rama seems to have written a special treatise on Varna and a commentary on it, called Varnalaghuvyakhya (Madras Trien. Cat. 1919-22, R. 3942c).

वेदाम्बिकापदाम्भोजयुगेन्द्रिन्दिरचेतसा ।

रामेण स्वकृतौ वर्णः लघु व्याख्यायते स्फुटम् ॥

Rama is a Tamilian as is clear from the Tamil equivalents of the technical names given by him.

#### Tala Lakshanam

This is an anonymous work on Tala available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library (Des. Cat. Vol. XXII, D. 12993). All that can be said of its date is that it is later than Saradatanaya's Bhavaprakasa which it quotes.

#### Mridanga Lakshanam

This work is on manufacture etc. of the Mridanga. Its author is not known. Two mss. of it are available with a Telugu Tika in the Madras Mss. Library (Des. Cat. Vol. XXII, D. 13011 and 13012). The work gives in the beginning a new legend of how the first Mridanga was manufactured by Vishnu out of the skin of Vritra and Mura, two demons whom he killed. This legend thus differs from the one found in Bharata's Natya Sastra according to which sage Svati first created the Pushkara drum on a rainy day.

#### The Sangita Muktavali of Devendra

The Bikaner Catalogue describes on p. 521, No. 1112, a work on music by one Devendra called the Sangita Muktavali. The ms. there described contains only the last chapter dealing with Nartana. Devendra is described in the colophon as a master of vocal and instrumental music and of dance: त्रयोत्रिकचिन्तामणिः ।

Four copies of a work of this name are available in the Tanjore Library and all of them are incomplete, containing only the Nrityadhyaya. One ms. in palm leaf and Telugu script, however, contains a larger portion (Burnell 11513). The colophon here gives the author as Devanacharya:



देवणाचार्यविरचिता संगीतमुक्तावली समाप्ता ।

Among the authorities enumerated by Devendra at the end of his work is to be noted a new name Rudrasena which we do not come across elsewhere:

भोजराजो रुद्रसेनः प्राज्ञः सोमेश्वरोऽपि च ।

In the course of the work, Devendra quotes the following authorities not found elsewhere: Vidyavinoda, which as suggested above, may be Sangita Vidya Vinoda, *Kaladhara* and Manamanohara.

On Ekanghri-Lohadi : यथाह कलाधरः—

एकाङ्घ्रौ लोहडी तिर्यक् भ्रान्त्या वामेन चेद् भुवि ।  
पतेत्पादेन वा प्रोक्तं लोके हुरमईति च ॥

On the patas or rhythm-bols of Sabda-Cali having emanated from Siva's faces : यथाह मानमनोहरः—पञ्चभिर्मर्गितालैश्च तथैकेन च निर्मिताः ।

सदाशिवाननोत्थाश्च नन्दिकेश्वर-निर्मिताः ॥

पाटा खण्डीकृताः षोढा क्रमादुत्क्रमतः तथा ।

शब्दचाली समाख्याताः

The Manamonohara may be the Manohara mentioned in the Sangitasiromani.

The date of the Sangita Muktaavali cannot be easily determined. From the topics and the treatment it appears to have been composed in South India in the great days of the art in Tanjore and some of the Telugu courts. The treatment is full of practical details and technical terms in Telugu and Tamil and references to Telugu and Tamil teachers of the art. At the end of one section, the author pays obeisance to his Guru Rudra:

श्री रुद्रस्य गुरोः गिरां पतिरपि प्रस्तौति यच्चातुरीं  
तस्याहनिशमाश्रये पदयुगं विद्यावतां प्रीतये ॥

#### Raga Mala of Kshemendra and Ratnamala of Jathara Bhupati

A Pathaka, songster, named Kshemendra *alias* Kshemakarna or Meshakarna, son of Mahesa Pathaka, has written a Raga Mala and the Bikaner Catalogue describes it on p. 56 under No. 1101. The colophon says : महेशपाठकात्मज क्षेमकर्ण ।

The Bikaner Catalogue says further that this same Raga Mala is also called Ratnamala. But, on examination, we can see that the Ratnamala is a separate work written by a king called in a verse there *Jathara-bhupati*, King of Jathara. Perhaps he was the patron of the above said Kshemakarna.

The Oxford Mss. Catalogue by Aufrecht describes two mss. of this Raga Mala of Kshemakarna Pathaka on p. 201b under Nos. 481 and 482. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, has a ms. of it (Cat. XIV, 62), as also the Dahilaxmi Library, Nadiad (XXXVII, 4).

#### The Raga Mala of Jivaraja Dikshita

There is another Raga Mala written by one Jivaraja Dikshita. A ms. of this work is available in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (349 of 1895-98; Des. Cat. XII, 35) and another is described in the Notices of Mss. by R. Mitra, Vol. VII, p. 261. The work treats of northern Ragas and their Raginis, their putras and the proper times for their singing. There is this verse at the end:

जीवराजश्चकारेणं राघवस्यानुशासनात् ।

रागमालांतु तस्यैव मनोरंजनहेतवे ॥

The Raghava mentioned as the prompter of the work may be God Rama, some King, his Guru, pupil or some friend.

#### Another Raga Mala

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has a Raga Mala which is called in the end *Dakshini* Raga Mala (Ms. No. 384 of 1895-98; Descriptive Cat. XII, 311). This small work describes 6 Ragas: Sriraga, Vasanta, Panchama, Bhairava, Megharaga and Natanarayana.

#### The Section on Music in Oddisa-Mahamantrodaya

There is a fragment on Tala Vadyas described under the name Talavidhana in the Madras Oriental Library. (Trien. Cat. 1916-19; R. 2779). This Talavidhana or according to the text Tala-vadya-vidhana is a small part of a separate section on music in a big semi-puranic Tantra-Mantra treatise of unknown date called the Oddisa-Mahamantrodaya. The section now available to us describes the Avanaddha Vadyas, Mridanga, etc. The work is cast in the form of a dialogue between Siva and Parvati, the former enlightening the latter on various

subjects. We find the following, indicating the nature of the work:

अयमोड्डीशमन्त्राख्यं वाद्यलक्षणमुच्यते ।

इत्योड्डीशमहामन्त्रोदये तालवाद्य विधानेषु etc.

The music section of the Mantra work is given as the sixth section of the 81st chapter. Talavadyas are proposed to be treated in 16 chapters. The Vadyas to be dealt with are also given as 16 in number,—Pataha, Jhallari, Bheri, Maddala, etc. The Oddisa is enumerated among the sources in the music section of the Sivatatvaratnakara.

Similarly the Kasyapa Tantra and the Uttara Karana Agama are said to treat of music.

#### Sangita Sara Kalika

From p. 54 of S. R. Bhandarkar's Report of the 2nd Tour for Skr. Mss. in Rajputana and Central India, we come to know of a writer on music named Suddha Svarnakara Moshadeva, a strange name indeed, 'arch-thief who is a pure goldsmith'. It is seen that he is also a master of mathematics besides music and is known to have written a commentary on Lilavati. In music, he is the author of a work called Sangita Sara Kalika. This work should be earlier than A.D. 1427 when the Sangita-siromani which mentions it was compiled. There is a ms. of the work in the Dahi Laxmi Library, Nadiad (XXXVII 8).

#### Sangita Kalika

There is another music work with a somewhat similar name, Sangita Kalika. It is quoted by Hemadri in his commentary on the Raghuvamsa. (Mad. Ms. R. 3376, p. 236.) From the quotation it is seen that the work dealt with Natya also. Hemadri's date is 1250-1300 A.D.

#### The Sangita Sudha of Bhima Narendra

The Oudh Catalogue (X, p. 12) contains the description of a work called Sangita Sudha, which has to be distinguished from the South Indian S. Sudha of Govinda Dikshita. The author of this Sangita Sudha is one King Bhima Narendra.

#### The Sruti Bhaskara of Bhimadeva

Another writer named Bhimadeva, who may or may not be the same as the above-said Bhima

Narendra, is the author of a work called Sruti Bhaskara. The work is very comprehensive and besides dealing with music and dance, it treats of Rasa and Drama also.

A ms. of it is described in the Bikaner Catalogue, p. 530, No. 1129.

#### Tala Kala Vilasa

In the Ms. Library of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, there is a treatise called Natya-sarvasva-dipika by Narayana Sivayogin and in that work is quoted thrice (pp. 34, 36 and 37) a work on Tala of this name. Its author is not known.

#### Sangita Mani Darpanam

The above-said work in the Bhandarkar Institute ms. quotes another music work of the name Sangita-mani-darpanam, of which also the author is not known.

#### Natya Sarvasva Dipika (also called Adi Bharata) by Narayana Sivayogin

This work is available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute. (No. 41 of 1916-18 ; Des. Cat. Vol. XII, No. 344). The ms. is from the Telugu country. On p. 28a we find this colophon :

इति श्री आदिभरतशास्त्रे शीक्षास्कन्धे नाट्यसर्वस्व-  
दीपिकायां पूर्वागादि सभास्तवान्तपञ्चप्रकरणनिरूपणं  
नाम सप्तमोऽध्यायः ।

On page 8 the following verse enlightens us about the author, his parentage, etc.

वैद्यपमन्त्रितनयः कोकिलाम्बातनूभवः ।  
नारायणः सिद्धशिवयोगिराजो विराजते ॥  
वरकटिकलपूडीवंशजो ब्रह्मवेत्ता  
श्रीवत्सगोत्रः कवीन्द्रः ।  
भरतमखिलमापस्तम्बसूत्रः पवित्रः  
स्फुटतरमकरोत्तं योगिनारायणायः ॥

He calls the work Natya-sarvasva-dipika and Adi Bharata. कर्तुमादिभरतं स्फुटमारभामि । The author's name is also variously given as Narayana, Siddha Sivayogiraja, Sivayogin and as सिद्धशिवश्रीरामानन्दयोगिराज ।

The ms. gives a table of contents at the beginning, from which we see that the work treats fully of Natya and Gita. In music, vocal and instrumental branches are dealt with. Tala, Venu, Vina, Dhakka, Mridanga are dealt with Natya of Angas and Upangas are given. Bharata is here reproduced. The work speaks also of the manufacture of instruments, of bronze Talas etc.

The work borrows from the Ratnakara. Kohalamata is quoted on Tala. S. Chudamani and S. Vidyavinoda are quoted. Besides these, the following new works are known from quotations here—Sangitarnava, Tala Kala Vilasa and S. Mani Darpanam.

Another interesting work quoted herein is Caturasabhavilasa, a work treating of all the arts flourishing in the King's court. Of some of these works, we have spoken above.

#### The Ramakautuhala of Ramakrishna Bhatta

Bhava Bhatta quotes a work called Raga Kutuhala. Its author is not given by him. We come across a work called Rama (ga?) Kautuhala by one Ramakrishna Bhatta subtitled as Sangita Saroddhara which is described on p. 518 under No. 1106 in the Bikaner Catalogue. It is not unlikely that Rama Kautuhala is an error for Raga Kutuhala. The colophon runs thus :

इति श्रीमत्पराशरगोत्र सकलप्रशस्तिविशारद श्रीराम-  
कृष्णभट्टविरचिते राम (ग?) कौतूहलाख्ये संगीतसारोद्धारे  
नृत्यप्रकरणं समाप्तम् ।

The work thus deals with dance also. It may also be likely that Ramakautuhala *alias* S. Saroddhara of Ramakrishna Bhatta derives its name from some other circumstance like the praise of god Rama in the work and is thus different from the Raga Kutuhala quoted by Bhava Bhatta.

#### Sangita Sara Sangraha

An anonymous work of this name is noticed in Rice's Catalogue of Mss. in Mysore and Coorg (p. 292). Oppert also notices it as a ms. available at Conjeevaram (Vol. 1, 1052). This S. Sara Sangraha must be distinguished from that of King Jagajyotirmalla noticed above and a modern compilation of that name published from Bengal which we shall mention presently.

#### The Bharata Sastra of Raghunathaprasada

A writer named Raghunatha Prasada wrote a work called Bharata Sastra on Music and dance, in the form of a dialogue between sage Bharata and God Siva. The work is available in the Tanjore Library and is incomplete. (New Catalogue No. 10669.)

Its contents are : Nada and its origin, defects of singers, sruti, svara, murcchana, tana, alankara, gamaka, alapti, raga and prabandhas. Burnell has given the name of the author in his Catalogue as Raghunatha and of the work as Bharata Sastram. On the ms. we find Bharata Sastra-ragadisvara-nirnaya and Ragadisvaranirnaya, Raghunatha Prasadakrita.

The colophon also gives the author as one Raghunatha Prasada.

इति भरतशास्त्रे भरतेश्वरसंवादे रघुनाथप्रसादेन (कृते)  
रागादिस्वरनिर्णयो नाम स्वरादि प्रथमं प्रकरणम् ।

The work is in very bad Sanskrit, most verses having neither metre nor meaning.

#### Taddhittonnam and Jati

In the Tanjore Library we have two works dealing with that branch of Tala called Konnakol, which is, so to say, 'vocal Mridangam'. The work called 'Taddhittonnam' has three copies and that called Jati has nine copies. Both these deal with Konnakol. (Burnell 11516b and 11608; New Cat. 10848 and 10851.)

#### Sangita Siddhanta of Ramananda Tirtha

This work is known to us from a notice of it in R. L. Mitra's Notices of Mss. No. 1017. A ms. of it is available in Nabadwip, West Bengal (King Edward Anglo-Sanskrit Library, No. 898).

#### Sangitaragalakshna and Sangitasagara

These two works are noticed respectively in the North Western Provinces Catalogue (VI 28) and in the Punjab Catalogue of Pt. Radhakrishna (41).

#### Raga Chandrika

This deals with Ragas in 143 verses.

### Ashtottara-sata Tala

This is a small work on 108 Talas.

### The Raga Lakshanam

This deals with Carnatic Music.

The above three works have been published from Bombay.

Another small work published from Bombay is *Chatvarimsatraganirupana*, 'treatment of 40 Ragas', which borrows from Sarngadeva and is attributed to Narada.

A work called *Sangita Sara Sangraha* has been published from Bengal. It is a modern compilation by the well-known scholar and patron Sourindramohan Tagore. It is in six chapters, dealing with Natya also in the last chapter.

### SOME MODERN WORKS

Appa Tulasi *alias* Kasinatha wrote two works in 1914 A.D., named *Ragakalpadruma*, speaking of 120 Ragas of the North from Bhairavi to Lalita, and *Sangitasudhakara* in two chapters, dealing mainly with Ragas numbering 125. A third work by Appa Tulasi is on Tala called *Abhinavatalamanjari*.

Another modern work of this class is the well-known *Lakshyasangita* of Mr. Bhatkhande.

'Vishnusarma' (Mr. Bhatkhande) brought out in 1921 A.D. (Poona) a text called *Abhinavara-gamanjari*.

In the South, few have been the modern works written in Sanskrit, though the output in Tamil and English is noteworthy. But some new Sanskrit works were undertaken by the late Sri Hulugur Krishnachariar of Hubli, by Sri P. G. Sundaresa Sastri of Tiruchi, and by Sri P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri of Tanjore (*Adhunikā-Sangita—Music of Today*).

### Fragmentary Manuscripts

Each library and each catalogue, besides giving us complete works on music and dance, or on music only, or on a branch of music only, supplies us also with a number of fragments. A list of them is appended here.

I. *The Madras Oriental Mss. Library* contains the following fragments:

1. *Raga-varna-nirupana* (Des. Catalogue No. 13013) on Ragas ; begins with Sourashtra and ends with Kalyani.

2. *Sangita-Vishaya* (Des. Cat. No. 130277), enumerates 72 Ragas.

कनकांगी च रत्नांगी गानमूर्तिर्वनस्पतिः

and so on and then defines them briefly ; it deals with the Carnatic Melakarta scheme of Ragas as it prevails.

3. *Gityadidoshavichara*—A discussion as to what are considered flaws or mistakes in songs. The subject is interesting and the ms. is complete (Trien. Cat. 1919-22, R. 3176f). The work comes from Orissa.

### II. The Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore.

1. *Ragalakshana* : Many fragments with this name, giving the lakshana of various Ragas are found.

2. *Ragadivichara*.

3. *Suladi* (5 mss.)—compositions.

4. *Tananighantu*. This has more recently been published in Vols. VII-IX of the Library's Journal. It is a curious work assigning ideas and feelings as meanings to different Tanas, combinations of Ta and Na employed in Tana-singing. That is the meaning of the name of the work "Lexicon of Tana". This is a highly imaginative thing and seems to be very much of an exaggeration. See also above the work called *Sangita Chintamani*, Tanjore ms.

5. *Abhinayalakshana* by Sringarasekhara. (New Cat. 10684).

6. *Abhinayalakshana*. Anon. Several mss.

7. *Talaprastara*—Several fragments.

### III. Oppert's Catalogue of Mss. in South India—Vol. I

1. *Talaprastara*, No. 2850.

2. *Ragalakshana*, No. 6166.

3. *Ragotpatti* (6167).

4. *Saptasvara-lakshana*.

5. *Svaraprastara* (6293).

6. *Svarasamucchaya*  
Vol. II.

7. *Melaraga-svarasangraha* (8527)



IV. *The Triyandrum Palace Library Catalogue*, Nos. 1421-2 *Svarataladilakshana* with Malayalam commentary.

V. Vth Report of the search for Skr. Mss. in Bombay by Peterson (p. 262). No. 400 : *Sankirnaragah*. This may be the *Sankirna*

*Ragadhyaya* noted previously.

VI. *The Anup Library Catalogue*, Bikaner. *Ragadhyana* *adikathanadhyaya* (p. 515, No. 1099), perhaps a chapter of some bigger work. The ms. describes the Ragas with their Svaras, Murtis and appropriate times for singing them.





## AN OUTLINE LITERARY HISTORY OF INDIAN MUSIC\*

DR V. RAGHAVAN

The earliest music of India is to be looked for in Vedic literature, the Sāmāns representing the earliest songs. The Sāman is the musical treatment of the Rk, which forms the libretto (yoni). While being rendered thus into melodies or Sāmāns, which are said to number some thousands, the text of the Rks undergo several modifications, sometimes out of all recognition, splitting, dragging, repeating, stopping and so on. There are one thousand aids to Sāman singing. Stobhas or syllables of no particular meaning are profusely employed, such as *him, au, ho, va, iha, huve, haya, ye, divah*, these Stobhas being classified into those of Varna, Pada and Vākya and analysed with reference to context and meaning like Blessing, Eulogy, and Complaint. The Stobhas are also called Phulla or Pushpa, meaning blown, or blossom, probably because these musical additions to a bare text compares to a bare twig being thrown into bloom. From the point of view of both singing and ritual, the Sāman books are divided into several groups. Sāman-singing is referred to many times in the Rgvedic hymns themselves and in the Brāhmanas and the Upanishads some Sāmāns figure prominently as part of the mystic exercises. Besides vocal singing, instrumental music also formed part of the Vedic sacrifices and the Vedas mention all the three classes of instruments, of percussion, wind and strings. A Sāman-singer is called Sāma-ga or Chandoga and there were different singers for the different parts of the Sāman-singing, the Hinkāra, Prastava, Udgitha, Prathihāra, Upadrava, Nidhana, and Pranava. Some sages are also mentioned as promulgators of certain Sāman-melodies. Some of the ancillary texts of the Sāmaveda speak of the musical notes of the Sāman-singing as seven (Sāmavidhānabrahmana, Arseyabrahmana, etc.), viz., Krushta, Prathama, Dvitiya, Trtiya, Caturtha, Mandra or Pañcama, Sashtha or Antya, or Atisvarya. We do not know when the Sāman came to be sung in seven notes; in more than one context, the words Āroika, Gāthika, and Sāmika are used in referring to Svaras or Groups of Svaras, intervals of one, two and three, from which we may assume that to begin with, the Sāman was sung to three or four notes; the next svara came to be simply called the *other Svara*, Svaranātra. A later treatise which gives us some guidance on the subject of Sāman-sing-

\* This is an outline of a detailed account compiled by the present writer. In this outline, Tamil sources are not touched.



ing is the *Sikshā* ascribed to *Nārada* where we are told that the sacred *Sāma-Svaras*, *Krusta*, *Prathama* etc. correspond to the secular *Svaras* on the flute in the order *Madhyama*, *Gāndhāra*, *Rishabha*, *Shadja*, *Dhaivata*, *Nishāda*, *Pancama*, giving us not a straight progression but an irregular one (*Vakragati*). The *Sāma*-notes were in a descending series (*Nidhana-prakriti*), and in contradiction to what the *Nārada Sikshā* says, *Sāyana* equates the notes of the *Sāma* to the secular *svaras* in a regular reverse order, *Ni*, *Dha*, *Pa*, *Ma*, *Ga*, *Ri*, *Sa*. Mention is also made in the *Nāradasikshā* to the '*Gātravīṇā*' or 'the lute of the palm' with the seven *svaras* fixed to the different points on the fingers as the guide to *Sāma*-singers. Even now, there are differing schools of *Sāma*-singing. The *Sāmans* do not, all of them, take all the seven notes, and in terms of modern melody-types of the Carnatic School of Indian music, we find shades of *Rāga Kharahara-priyā* or a derivative thereof, or part of *Bhairavi* occurring in *Sāma gānas*, but the exact *svarasthānas* are slightly different from the corresponding ones of the music of today.

It is from this *Sāma* music did the further music of India develop. The music lore is considered to be derived from the *Sāma-veda* and the primary treatise is said to be an *Upaveda* called the *Gāndharvaveda*. We do not possess any text now of this name and description, but a later *Tāntric* treatise mentions the *Gāndharva-veda* as a text on music in 36,000 *anushtubhs*. The earliest treatise we now have is the *Nāṭyasastra* of *Bharata* where music is dealt with as an aid to dramatic representation. Tradition says that *Bharata's* text was preceded by two texts of *Sadāśiva* and *Brahma*, and the text of *Bharata* itself presupposes works ascribed not only to these two mythological authors but to *Nārada* too. In fact, in later musical literature a plethora of mythological figures, male and female, appears as early music-authors; while it is possible that there are music works ascribed to these mythological names, *Nārada*, *Tumburu*, *Kambala*, *Asvatara*, *Arjuna* etc., we cannot vouchsafe for the antiquity of these texts.

After the period of the sacred *Sāma*-singing, we have the second period called *Gāndharva* or *Mārga*. The *Gāndharva* is also a kind of sacred music and represents a counterpart of Vedic *Sāma*. The *Gāndharva* or *Mārga* songs are in classic Sanskrit so far as their language goes; their authorship is assigned to *Brahma* himself, and to put them further on a par with the *Veda*, their *svara*-notation is made immutable and its faithful rendering as of the *Vedas* is held to be attended with other-worldly merit; the subject of these songs is God *Siva* and these songs were sung, played to by instruments and



danced to. They are called *Mārga* as *Brahmā* is supposed to have sought them out (from *Mrig*—to search). The texts of some of these are found in the current text of the *Nāṭya Sāstra* itself; *Abhinavagupta* deals with them in his commentary on the *Nāṭya Sāstra*; *Nāṇyadeva* devotes much attention to them in his *Bharata Bhāṣya*, and in the opening chapters of the *Sangita Ratnākara* of *Sārṅgadeva*, we find a number of them given with *Svara*-notation.

Earlier than these *Saivite* songs of *Mārga* music, we had the singing of the *Ākhyāna* rhapsodies, the epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. The *Rāmāyana* was sung to the *Vīṇā* or lute by two minstrels in the *Mārga* style in the seven modes of melody called the *Jātis*. When the seven notes were known, scales were formed from them, starting with three of them *Gāṇdhārā*, *Madhyama*, and *Shadjā*. The seven *svaras* or notes are named on some obscure basis, *Shadjā* being called after its six-fold source, *Madhyama* and *Panchama* after their positions, *Nishāda* also perhaps after its position, *Rishabha* probably after a similar animal sound, *Gāṇdhārā* after a country or after the sheep which too were called so, and *Dhaivata* after something we do not know at all. Of the primary scale formed from these, that starting with *Ga* was perhaps after a mode prevailing in the *Gāṇdhārā* country and if we realise that the word *Gāṇdhārā* is only a *Prakrit* variant of *Gandharva*, we have here a very fruitful line of further research on the *Gāṇdhārā* region being the contributor of the *Gandharva* music of ancient India. These parent groupings of *svaras* are called *Grāmas*, the three respective groups being the *Gāṇdhārā*, *Madhyama* and *Shadjā* *grāmas*. By the time of the *Nāṭya sāstra* and even earlier perhaps, the *Ga*-*grāma* went out of vogue. Further scales were derived from the possible transpositions of the seven *svaras* of each of the two remaining *Grāmas* of *Sa* and *Ma*, thus giving fourteen primary modes. These derived modes are called *Jātis*; earlier, in the time of the *Rāmāyana*, these *Jātis* were only seven, derived probably only from one *Grāma*, viz., the *Ga*. Both from the Vedic and the epic literature, we know that music, of instruments as well as of recitals of *ākhyānas*, was a feature of the Vedic sacrificial performances; the *Tānas* of the different *Grāmas* are named after different sacrifices; and this sacrificial nomenclature has thus some historical significance.

*Bharata* deals with music as an ancillary of his operatic theatre. Chapters 28 to 33 (Kasi edition) of his *Nāṭya Sāstra* are devoted to the science of music and to vocal and instrumental accompaniments. *Bharata* gives the fundamentals of Indian music in Ch. 28; mentions



the twenty-two *srutis* or microtonal intervals, an experimental method of deducting them and a demonstration of these on two *Vinās*; and eighteen *Jātis*, seven from each of the two *Grāmas*, and four mixed ones. As Bharata treats of music as an aid to drama,\* he speaks of the appropriateness between certain situations and emotions and certain notes and melodies, and to this subject, the text of Kāśyapa, which Abhinavagupta, Bharata's commentator, quotes profusely, devotes extensive attention. In the musical fittings of the drama, a type of song called *Dhruvā*, having numerous sub-varieties, played the chief part; it was of five main kinds, that of the Entrance (*Prāvesikī*), of the Exit (*Naishkrāmikī*), and three others occurring during the stay of the character on the stage (*Ākshēpikī*, *Āntarā*, and *Prāsādikī*) which introduced a new idea or feeling and furthered the effect of the same. These songs were also of significance as giving an idea to the audience of the whole context, place, person, etc. of a particular scene, as in Bharata's idealistic theatre, scenic trappings or elaborate stage directions were dispensed with. Another point to be noted about these *Dhruvā*-songs is that they employ symbolical images, e.g., a hero's entry being suggested by describing an elephant entering a forest; more noteworthy is the fact that the *Dhruvas* were originally in *Prākṛit*, suggesting a popular origin; it is only at a very late stage and in a few very stray cases, are there found *Dhruvas* in *Sanskrit* (e.g., *Anargharaghava* of *Murāri*). *Dhruvas* were mostly sung by the orchestra. Instrumental music, of both the stringed instruments and the drums, was also extensively harnessed for the dramatic effect, gaits of various persons in their different emotional states being accompanied by suitable instrumental background music. Besides the music of the play proper, Bharata describes also the music of the dance called *Lāsya* in ten or twelve little isolated themes and the music of the *Purvaranga* or stage preliminaries. *Purvaranga* was either simple or elaborate, and, to suit the tempo of the coming drama, either delicate or vigorous. The main constituents of these preliminary shows are a set of instrumental items and dances. The instrumental music here is called *Nirgīta*, i.e., without song or understandable words, or *Bahirgīta*, i.e., external music, and is said to be dear to the *Asuras*. Bharata gives the sound syllables of this music, resembling the meaningless *Sama-stobhas* or the *Carnatic Sollu-k-kattus*. The dances which figure here and which are part of the *Tāṇḍava* promulgated by *Siva*, are executed to the

\*The present writer has a separate extensive paper entitled *Music on Bharata's Stage*.



accompaniment of certain music compositions belonging to the Gāndharva or the Mārga type previously referred to. Some of these songs/compositions mentioned by Bharata are Vardhamānaka, Āsārīta (or Mārgasārīta, referred by Sabarasvamin too in his Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya), Chandaka, Gīta, Mahāgīta, Madraka, Māgadhi, Ardhamāgadhi, Sambhāvītā, Prithulā (four kinds of Gītis), Rk, Gāthā, Sāman, Paṇika, Aparāntaka, Ullopya, Prakari, Ovenaka and Uttara. The last seven are grouped together under a common name Saptarūpa or Saptāṅga said to be derived from Sāmaveda and yielding spiritual merit. The imperfect condition of the text of Bharata's work and Abhinavagupta's commentary thereon hamper our full understanding of these ancient Mārga-songs in Sanskrit. Through Nānyadeva's Bharata Bhāṣya and Saṅgadeva's Saṅgitaratnākara we get clearer ideas of these. Derived from the Jātis are the melodic compositions called Kapālas, numbering seven, of which again the libretto is ascribed to Brahman himself and another class called Kambalas. Corresponding to these there are also the rhythm-measures or Tālas of Mārga music which are also given a divine origin, Chacchatputa, Chachaputa etc.

The next treatise of importance is the Nārada Sikshā. The most distinguishing feature of the music of India is its wealth of melodic forms created out of endless variations of the succession of svaras or notes, called Rāga by virtue of either their colourfulness or captivating effect on the heart. But the concept of Rāga as such had not developed in Bharata's time. During the early stages there were the Jātis or the parent scales in which the compositions of those ages like the Rāmāyana and the Gāndharva-songs were sung. The instruments were also open at that time and the melodies changed by transposition of the notes and the shift of the key. Hence Gāndharva is defined by Dattila as *Avadhāna* or concentration and careful execution involving svara-transpositions. Later the increasing realisation of the starting, lingering and ending points in these melodic types led to greater analysis and the formulation of Rāgas. The Rāgas to begin with were few and besides the main Grāma Rāgas of the two Grāmas of Shādja and Madhyama, the only other Rāgas mentioned in the Nārada Sikshā are Shādava, a Rāga taking only six notes, Panchama, Sādhārīta, Kaisika and Kaisikamadhyama. The Nārada Sikshā quotes here Kasyapa, and from the Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta we learn that Kasyapa's music work is of much value.

The history of the Rāga-music appears in its fullness in the Brihaddesi of Matanga, who expressly states that he deals with the



Rāga-mārga not dealt with by Bharata. These Rāgas as distinct from the Mārga which cannot, on the analogy of the Veda, be altered, are called Desī, permitted to vary in different parts in the country. As the first big treatise on the Desī Rāga music, Matanga's work is called Brihaddesī. An incomplete and imperfect manuscript of this was recovered and published from Trivandrum. Just as the expressions Mārga and Desī are contrasted, Gāndharva is contrasted with the name Gāna. The Desī Rāga Gāna is the next, the third, stage in the history of Indian Music.

As the Rāgas grew they were classified into Suddha and Bhinna and the Grāma Raga into Bhāṣā, Antara Bhāṣā, and Vibhāṣā on the linguistic analogy. The next stage of classification is into Ragāṅga, Bhāṣāṅga, Kriyāṅga and Upāṅga. In course of time the Ma-Grāma too went out of vogue leaving as its survival the Madhyama-Grāma-Rāga, even as the Ga-Grāma left leaving its survival in the Gāndhāra-Grāma Raga referred to in the Harivamsa; and then Sa-Grāma alone prevailed.

A definitely datable but unfortunately difficult music material is a seventh century rock inscription of the Pallava King Mahendrarman of Kāñchi, at Kudimiyāmalai in the Pudukottai State in South India which gives Svāra-groupings for an enigmatic seven and eight on the lute called Parivādinī. The puzzling seven refers perhaps to the seven Jātis and the eight perhaps to a new mixed Jāti created by the royal musician himself, for one of the well-known titles of this King is *Sankirṇajāti*, and these titles themselves were taken by the King after his respective achievements in the different departments of arts and letters.

Next comes a series of commentaries and expositions of the Nāṭya Sāstra of Bharata by Lollata, Udbhata, Sankuka, Kirtidhara, Abhinavagupta, and Nānyadeva, those of the last two alone being available now. At about the time of the last two, the royal polymath of Malva, Bhoja, also produced a musical treatise. Besides the works of these, there were numerous others ascribed to names of sages and mythological figures, Yaśhtika, Durga, Sārdūla, Kohala, Viśākṣhila, Dattila (recovered and published from Trivandrum), Kambala, Asvatara, Ravana, Nandikesvara, etc., some of which are early indeed. Some of the Purānas too deal with music. Among historical persons Mātrigupta mentioned in the Rājataranginī, Rudrata, the rhetorician, Rāhula a Buddhist and King Somesvara also are authors on music. Of all this literature we have an excellent epitome in the



Sangitaratnākara of Sarṅgadeva, Chief Accountant of King Soddhala (A. D. 1210-1247) of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, which has stood the test of time and is today the only book looked into for an all-round knowledge of ancient music. An earlier work of importance is represented by the music chapters of the *Manasollāsa* or *Abhilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi*, an encyclopaedia compiled by the Chalukya King Somesvara of Kalyāṇ in A. D. 1181.\* A Jain work of merit is the *Sangita Samaya Sāra* of Pārsvadeva probably of the 13th century itself.† A number of commentaries on the *Sangita Ratnākara* were then produced, chief among these being the works of two Telugu writers King Singabhūpāla (A. D. 14th cent.) and Chatura Kallinātha (A. D. 15th cent.).

In the post-Ratnākara period, sometime after the mingling of the Hindu and Persian cultures in the North, there developed a schism in Indian Music and the two Schools of the North and the South—Hindusthani and Carnatic—came to be distinguished. The fundamentals and the basic texts of the two schools are the same, but differences in nomenclature of *Srutis* and *Rāgas*, in the aesthetic of *Rāga*-formation and in the employment of the subtler aspects like *graces* came about. While the names of *Rāgas* are common to the two schools, their respective melodic contents came to differ. It may be said that to some extent the South preserved the purity of the old music and its school exhibited scientific trends in its further development. But it should not be held that there was no contact between the two schools; Gopāla Nayak, a famous South Indian musician and composer, was taken to the North by Alauddin Khilji, (13th century); Pundarika Viṭṭhala, a Carnatic musical author was patronised by Akbar's courtiers (16th century); when a Nepalese king wanted to compile his *Sangita Chandra*, he says, he called for a conference of scholars, from all parts of the country, and secured a valuable treatise from the South, even as Garuda secured nectar. Some of the very sweet *Rāgas* of the Carnatic system came from the north; an eminent South Indian composer like Muthusvāmi Dikshitar lived in Banarās for some time and adopted some Hindusthani modes for his creations.

The North Indian Music books start with six *Rāgas* as primary and classify other melodies in a domestic style into male and female,

\* The present writer has collated two mss. of the music portion of this work for a critical study and edition.

† The text of this work was badly printed from a single defective ms. in Trivandrum. The present writer is working at an improved edition on the basis three mss. of the work.



husband and wife, and sons and daughters, kinship in impression and emotional ethos being the criterion of such classification. Another peculiarity of the North Indian melodies is that each Rāga is picturised into a certain image, Megha as the Raining Cloud, Hindol as the swing of the lady sporting on it, and so on, which has given rise to the beautiful school of Rāgamālā miniature painting. A third characteristic is that while in the South, the relation between certain Rāgas and certain parts of the day is emphasised only in a few cases, e.g. the Nīlāmbārī for the night at sleeping time and Bhūpālā for sunrise, and is seldom observed as a rule, the North has rules of time to a greater extent, and what is more, observes such rules in practice too.

The history of the South Indian musical literature dates clearly from the Vijayanagara period and hence perhaps is this school styled Carnatic. The Saint-singer of the period Purandara Dāsa is considered to be the father of Carnatic Music. By his time we had already the Sangītasāra ascribed to Vidyāranya, the Sage-founder of the Vijayanagar kingdom. While the classification of the Rāgas in the North was proceeding on lines of Rāga-Rāginis and their issues, Carnatic Rāga classification began with a scheme of Mela-Janya Rāgas, parent and derivative melodies. Vidyāranya formulated fifteen Melas and described fifty Rāgas. Ahobala's Sangita Parijata, translated into Persian in A.D. 1724, is valuable as a work fixing Svaras in terms of the length of the wire in tension on the Vīṇā. Two other productions of the Telugu country are the Svaramelakalanidhi of Rāmāmātya (A.D. 1550) which mentions the Sruti (drone) and the Rāgavibodha of Somanātha (A.D. 1609). The centre of music activity then shifted to the Nāyak and Mahratha courts of Tanjore, and the high-water-mark of the Carnatic music even to day is the Tanjore style. During the reign of King Raghunātha Naik of Tanjore (A.D. 1614-32), his scholar minister Govinda Dikshita fixed the Carnatic Vīṇā, naming it after his King and made it suitable for playing all the Rāgas. This fixing of the frets of the Vīṇā then marks a stage. Govinda Dikshita wrote a treatise on music called Sangita-sudhā. His son, Venkatamakhin, the Mīmāṃsaka, wrote a music treatise called the Caturdandiprakāśikā during the time of Vijayarāghava Naik (A.D. 1633-73), in which a system was worked out, on the basis of the twelve notes of the gamut, whereby all the possible Rāga varieties, known and unknown, were brought under 72 major and parent modes called Mela-Rāgas, their derivatives being called Janya-Rāgas. Out of these, 19 parent modes were current in Venkatamakhin's time. For the characteristics of the Rāgas known in his time, he resorted to a grand-preceptor of his, Tānappa, son of



Honappa, who had left a legacy of detailed treatment of fifty Rāgas, worked out into sets of four compositions called Caturdandī, Gīta, Prabandha, Thāya, and Ālāpa. The next important Tanjore text is the Sangītasāramrita of King Tulaja, a Mahratha ruler of Tanjore (A.D. 1729-35). The most valuable portion of his work is the detailed descriptions of the Rāgas with citations from old Thāyas, Gītas, etc. The three texts of Tanjore noticed above were quickly superseded by a rather irregularly written work called Sangraha Cūdāmani by Govinda, whose system is the one in vogue now. To Venkatamakhin, the author of the seventy-two mela scheme, it was not necessary that each parent mode should be a complete heptatonic scale by ascent as well as descent; Govinda took this to be a drawback and created wherever necessary new parent modes having completeness of svaras thereby adding to the Rāgas in existence. Some modern scholars find fault with the mela scheme originated by Venkatamakhin, but some find it to be good and Mr. Bhatkhande to whom modern Hindusthani renaissance owes much, adopted it for classifying the North Indian melodies in his work called Lakshya Sangita.

Many of the music works dealt with dance also. Some separate treatises also came to be written on a single department of music, Rāgas, Tālas, or some instrument.

Regarding music compositions in Sanskrit we noted that after the Sāmāns, there arose the compositions of Marga or Gāndharva music all of which were in praise of Siva. They were in imitation of Vedic music. Three of these compositions were actually called Rik, Gāthā and Sāman. Many of the characteristics of Vedic music were transmitted to later music in a different form: Corresponding to the Stobhas of the Sāman, developed the Akāra and Tennakāra of later music; and the five parts of the Sāman singing Prastāva, Udghāta, Pratīhara, Upadrava and Nidhana, gave rise in later music to Udgrāha, Anudgrāha, Sambodha, Dhruvaka, Ābhoga, of which the first, fourth and fifth became the more important parts of a composition. Matanga's work mentions a large number of compositions under Desī music. An idea of this class of compositions can be had from the Prabandha chapter (IV) of the Sangita Ratnākara. Sarngadeva says that Prabandha is also called Vastu and Rūpaka, and has four limbs Udgrāha, Melāpaka, Dhruva and Ābhoga. The six constituents of such a musical composition are Svāra, Birudu, Pada, Tenaka, Pāta and Tāla, notes, praises and words, Te-Ne syllables used for melody, rhythmic syllables and time-measure. These compositions have sub-varieties, distinguished on different principles. Sarngadeva



names thirty-two kinds of Sūda compositions, some of these names being Elā, Jhombada, Rāsa, Ekataḷi, Varna, Varnasvara, Gadya, Arya, Gāthā, Dvipatha, Totaka, Vritta, Rāgakadambaka, Pancatālesvara, Talānava, etc.; some others called Alikrama and miscellaneous prabandhas (e.g., Tripadi, Catuspadi, Shatpadi, Dandaka, Kanduka, Charchari, Paddaḍi, Rāhadi, Dhavala, Ovi etc.) and another set called Chāyalaga or Salaga (Dhruva, Mantha etc.). Some of these at least were popular and vernacular in origin and some others have close connection with Prakrit prosody.

Of Music compositions of another type we get a glimpse from the Abhinavabhāratī where Abhinavagupta mentions that there was a composition called Rāgakāvya or a composition to be sung in a Raga and the instances are given of the poem Rāghavavijaya to be sung in the Takka Rāga and the Māricavadha in Kakubha Grāma rāga. Such poems recited musically were a continuation of a ancient Ākhyāna rhapsodies. In a later century (18th) we find a work of poet Nārāyana of Orissa, Sangita Sarani, citing many such musical poems compiled by himself and his father Purusottama. He calls poems sung in single rāgas Sūtraprabhandhas and those sung in different rāgas, Suddhaprabandhas. Ramacandrodaya, Bālaramayana, Gundicavijaya and Ramābhudaya are given in the later class and in the former are mentioned Balabhadravijaya, Sankaravihāra, Usavilāsa, and Krishnavilāsa.

The outstanding creation in the field of Sanskrit musical composition is the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva (A.D. 12th cent) on the love of Rādhā and Krishna. This musical poem may be held to be the father of all later creations. In its poetry and the sheer music of the words and the litt of its lines, it is an unrivalled production. From the time of its composition, it has occupied a unique place not only among votaries of devotional music but also many votaries of dance who favour its songs for gesticulation (abhinaya). The poem is in twelve cantos, each canto containing more than one song. The songs are called Ashtapadis referring to the eight feet in each of them with a refrain called Dhruvapada. The text gives the Rāga and Tāla of each song and among the many commentaries, that of King Kumbhakarna of Mewar, author too of a music treatise called Sangita Mimāṃsā, devotes much attention to these Rāgas and Tālas. Each song is introduced and concluded with of beautiful verses and the entire form of the composition was so original and so attractive that numberless imitations of it arose. Its influence on later music composition can be felt even up to the time of Rabindranath Tagore.



So far as Carnatic music composition is concerned, Jayadeva inspired Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha of South India, a Telugu Sannyāsin who retired in the Tanjore District, in the 18th century, to produce his fuller opera of the sports of Kṛṣṇa called the Kṛṣṇa Līlātaraṅgiṇi. Sadāśiva Brahmendra an Advaitic writer and Avadhūta of Tanjore District (A.D. 18th century) composed some Vedantic and devotional Sanskrit songs. The most important Sanskrit composer in the field of Carnatic music is Muttuswāmī Dikṣitar of Tiruvārūr (A.D. 1775-1835) whose numerous and learned compositions, bringing out the entire forms of the Rāgas, form one of the reservoirs of Carnatic music today. In a playful mood he imitated also some of European Band tunes heard at Tanjore, including the British National Anthem. Next to him comes the more prolific royal composer of Travancore, King Svāti Tiruṇāl Rāma Varma (1812-1847). The more famous contemporary, Tyāgarāja, who composed mostly in Telugu, produced a good number of Sanskrit songs too. The South Indian music composition has three limbs, the Pallavi corresponding to Dhruvapaḍa, Anupallavi and Carana, taking off in an essential and attractive point of a Rāga and then elaborating it slightly and then more fully. Many of these composers were great devotees of God and mystics, and in fact, to them there was little distinction between devotion and art; the Bhakti movement in the mediaeval and later times gave an impetus to song-compositions all over the country, but the affiliation of the art of music to spiritual pursuit is an idea valued in India from most remote times. Sage Yājñavalkya considered it as a means of salvation and indeed musical sound itself is adored as Nāda-Brahmam.

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